





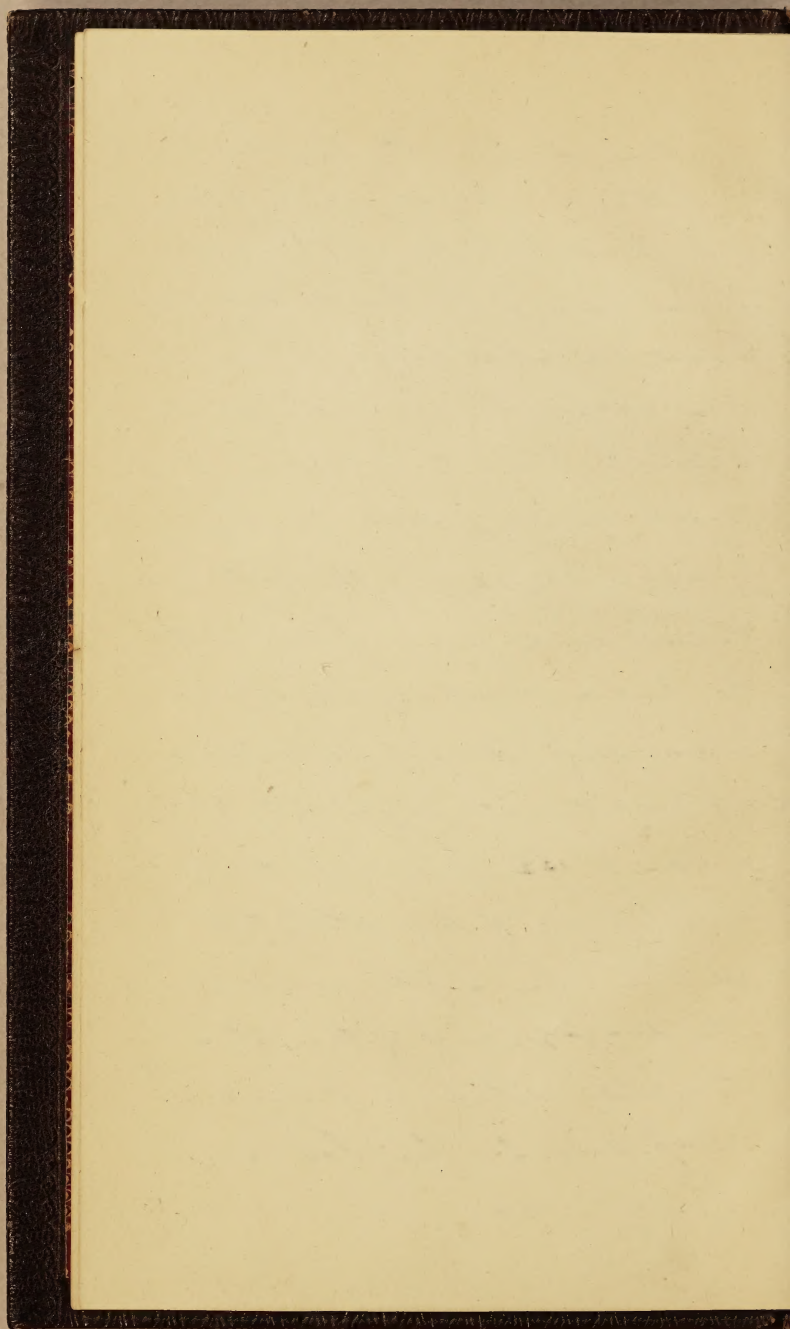
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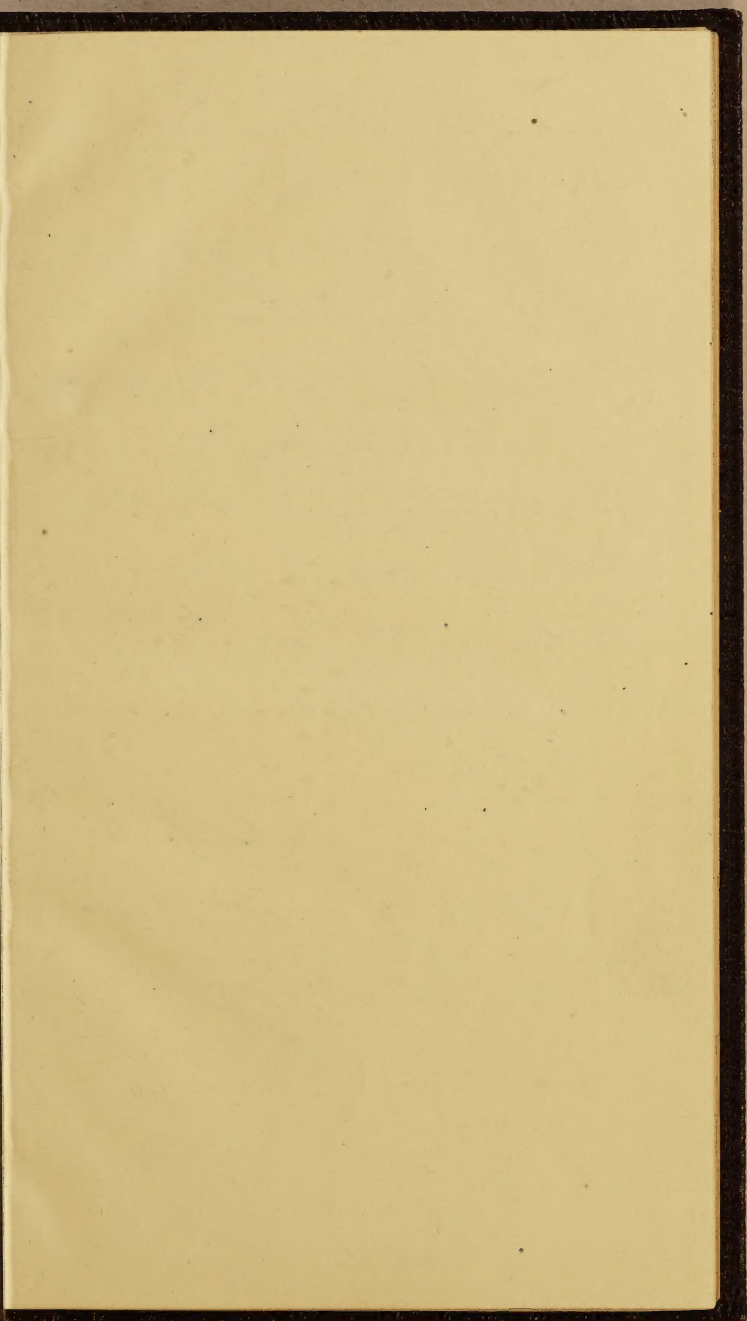
A24d

1854

These sheets of the first volume
of Hutchinson's History, "Third Edition",
were issued with the monthly numbers,
for one year, of the "Royal American
Magazine", which began in January
1774 & came to an untimely end
in April 1775 - the number for
March being probably the last
issued - These 128 pp. of the History, as
I have said, were issued with
the twelve numbers. The three
remaining numbers contained
24 additional pages of the History,
making 152 pp. in all that
were issued of this attempted
edition. See a full account of
the Magazine, & of this at-
tempted edition, in Proceedings
Mass. Hist. Soc. for Feb. 1857,
pp. 141-144.

(over)





The Royal Am. Magazine
was begun by Isaiah Thomas
in Boston, who published six
numbers. The publication then
was sold to Joseph Greenleaf
who continued it, with the sheets
of the History, as before, stitched
into the numbers, - to its conclusion
as stated on the previous
page. Greenleaf used a dif-
ferent type from Thomas, &
this peculiarity marks the History
pp 1-56 being printed by Thomas,
& the remainder by Greenleaf -

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
COLONY
OF

MASSACHUSETTS-BAY,

FROM THE
FIRST SETTLEMENT THEREOF
IN 1628,
UNTIL ITS INCORPORATION

WITH THE
Colony of PLIMOUTH, Province of
MAIN, &c.

BY THE
Charter of King WILLIAM and Queen MARY,
IN 1691.

By MR. HUTCHINSON,

Late Lieutenant-Governor, and now Governor and Commander in Chief of the
MASSACHUSETTS Province.

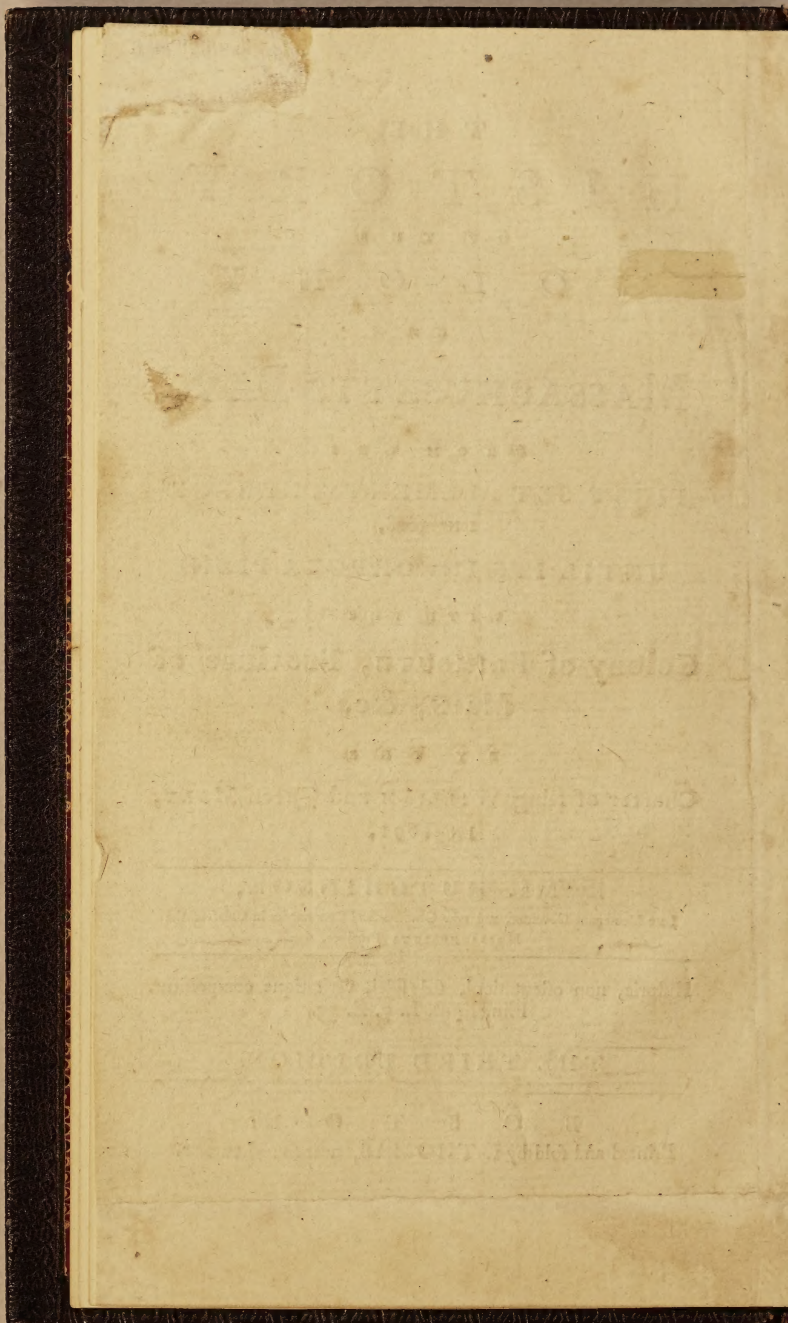
Historia, non ostentationi, sed fidei, veritatisque componitur.
Plin. Epist. L. 7. E. 33.

THE THIRD EDITION.

B O S T O N:

Printed and sold by I. THOMAS, near the MARKET.

- 1774 -



T H E
P R E F A C E.

TH E repeated destruction of ancient records and papers, by fire in the town of Boston, first inclined me to endeavour the preservation of such materials as remained proper for an history of the Massachusetts colony. Many such came to me from my ancestors, who, for four successive generations, had been principal actors in public affairs : Among the rest, a manuscript history of Mr. William Hubbard, which is carried down to the year 1680, but after 1650 contains but few facts. The former part of it has been of great use to me : It was so to Dr. Mather in his history, of which Mr. Neale's is little more than an abridgement. I made what collection I could of the private papers of others of our first settlers, but in this I have not had the success I desired. The descendants of some of them are possessed of many valuable letters and other manuscripts, but have not leisure or inclination to look into them themselves, and yet will not suffer it to be done by others. I am obliged to no person more, than to my friend and brother the Reverend Mr. Mather, whose library has been open to me, as it had been before to the Reverend Mr. Prince, who had taken from thence the greatest and most valuable part of what he had collected,

SEVERAL

SEVERAL gentlemen have given us encouragement to expect from them an history of the colony. Mr. Prince gave us the chronology of two or three years, and there left it. Mr. Prat, the late chief justice of New-York, has often mentioned to me his intention to prepare and publish such an history. Death has put it out of his power. Another gentleman, of the first character at the bar, whose talents for it will not be called in question, has proposed the same thing. Want of leisure for it has probably prevented.

I AM sensible that whoever appears in print should be able to dispose his matter in such order, and cloath it with such stile and language, as shall not only inform but delight the reader; therefore I would willingly have delivered over every thing I have collected to a person of genius for such a work. But seeing no prospect of its being done by any other, I engaged in it myself; being very loth, that what had cost me some pains to bring together, should be again scattered and utterly lost.

I AM sensible of many defects in this performance, and that it stands in need of all the apologies I am capable of making for it. It cannot be expected that the affairs of a colony should afford much matter, interesting or entertaining to the world in general. I write for the sake of my own countrymen, and even to many of them I expect some facts will be thought of too little importance; and yet I have

The P R E F A C E.

v

I have omitted many such as have been judged proper for the press by former historians. In general, we are fond of knowing the minutiae which relate to our own ancestors. There are other facts, which, from the nature of them, will afford but a dull and heavy narration. My chief design is to save them from oblivion.

ALL historians profess a sacred regard to truth. I have found some difficulty in guarding against every degree of prejudice, in writing the history of my own country. I hope, by shunning one extreme, I have not run upon the other.

THE Massachusetts colony may be considered as the parent of all the other colonies of New-England. There was no importation of planters from England to any part of the continent, northward of Maryland, except to the Massachusetts, for more than fifty years after the colony began. In the first ten years, about twenty thousand souls had arrived in the Massachusetts. Since then, it is supposed more have gone from hence to England than have come from thence hither. Massachusetts-Bay, New-Hampshire, Connecticut and Rhode-Island, at this day, probably contain five hundred thousand souls. A surprising increase of subjects of the British crown !

BARBADOES and the Leeward Islands owed very much of their growth to the supplies of lumber, horses and provisions, with which they were furnished, at the beginning of their settlements,

ments, from this colony, in as great plenty as they desired.

THE addition of wealth and power to Great-Britain, in consequence of this first emigration of our ancestors, exceeds all expectation. They left their native country with the strongest assurances that they and their posterity should enjoy the privileges of free, natural born English subjects. May the wealth and power of Britain still increase, in proportion to the increase of her colonies ; may those privileges never be abused ; may they be preserved inviolate to the latest posterity.

T H E

T H E
H I S T O R Y
Of the COLONY of
MASSACHUSETTS-BAY.

C H A P. I.

The History of the Colony of MASSACHUSETTS-BAY, from the first Settlement until the Year 1660.

THE discovery of America by Columbus, and of the northern continent by the Cabots, in the 15th century, and the several voyages of English and French, in the 16th, I pass over, and begin with the voyage made by Bartholomew Gosnold, an Englishman, in the year 1602, to that part of North-America since called New-England. It is not certain that any European had been there before. Hackluit mentions the landing of some of Sir H. Gilbert's men upon some part of the continent; but, it is probable, that was farther eastward, upon what is now called Nova-Scotia. Gosnold landed first on the eastern coast, which he calls Mavoshen*. After some commerce with the natives, he sailed southward, and landed upon one of the islands called Elizabeth islands†. He gave them that name in honour to Q. Elizabeth, who was living

* About 43 degrees North.

† A little Southward of Cape-Cod. He gave the name also to Martha's Vineyard.

8 THE HISTORY OF

living when he left England, and they have retained it ever since. He built a fort, and intended a settlement upon the island, or the continent near it; but he could not persuade his people to remain there, and they all returned to England before winter †.

IN 1603, De Monts obtained a patent from Henry the 4th of France, for all the country, from the 40th to the 46th degree, by the name of Cadie or Acadie. In 1604, De Monts ranged along the sea coast, from St. Lawrence to Cape-Cod, and to the south of it. He went far up Kennebeck river, and into divers other rivers, bays and harbours §.

IN 1606, King James, the first, granted all the continent, from 34 to 45 degrees; which he divided into two colonies, viz. the Southern, or Virginia, to certain merchants of London; the Northern, or New-England, to merchants of Plymouth.

dahoe IN 1607, some of the patentees of the Northern colony began a settlement at Sagahedoc. They laid the plan of a great state ||. The president died the first winter, which was extreme cold. Sir John Popham his brother, the great promoter of the design, and Sir John Gilbert the admiral's brother, died the same year in Europe, and the next year, 1608, the whole number which survived the winter returned to England. Their design of a plantation was at an end. Both English and French continued their voyages to the coast, some for fishing, and some for trade with the

† This I suppose is what Josselyn, and no other author, calls the first colony of New-Plimouth, for he says it was begun in 1602, and near Narragansett-bay.

§ He did not go into the Massachusetts-bay, but struck over from some part of the eastern shore to Cape-Ann, and so to Cape-Cod, and sailed further southward. Champ.

|| The following persons were sent over to begin the colony, George Popham, president; Rawleigh Gilbert, admiral; Edward Harlow, master of the ordnance; Robert Davies, serjeant-major; Ellis Best, marshal; ----- Scaman, secretary; James Davies, commander of the fort; Gome Carew, searcher; and about one hundred commonalty.

the natives; and some feeble attempts were made, by the French, towards plantations, but they were routed by the English in 1613. There was no spirit in the people of either nation for colonizing. Favourable accounts were published of the continent, by Capt. Smith and others; but who would remove, and settle in so remote and uncultivated a part of the globe, if he could live tolerably at home*? The country would afford no immediate subsistence, and therefore was not fit for indigent persons. Particular persons or companies would have been discouraged from supporting a colony, by the long continued expence and outset, without any return†. No encouragement could be expected from the public. The advantages of commerce from the colonies were not then foreseen, but have been since learned by experience. Virginia in its infancy was struggling for life; and what its fate would have been, if the fathers of it in England had not seen the rise and growth of other colonies near it, is uncertain‡. God in his providence bringeth good out of evil. Bigotry and blind zeal prevailed, among christians of every sect or profession. Each denied to the other, what all had a right to enjoy, liberty of conscience. To this we must ascribe, if not the settlement, yet at least the present flourishing state of North-America. Persecution drove one Mr. Robinson and his church from England to Holland, about the year 1608. They stayed about a year at Amsterdam, and then removed to Leyden. In 1617 they began to think of

B removing

* Quis porro, præter periculum horridi et ignoti maris, Asiâ aut Africâ aut Italiâ relicta, Germaniam peteret informem terris, asperam cælo, tristem cultu aspectuq; nisi si patria sit. Tac. de mor. Germ.

† Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. Mason spent twenty thousand pounds each, in attempts for settlement, and each of them thought it advisable to give over their designs and sit down with the loss.

‡ Whether Britain would have had any colonies in America at this day, if religion had not been the grand inducement, is doubtful. One hundred and twenty years had passed, from the discovery of the northern continent by the Cabots, without any successful attempt. After repeated attempts had failed, it seems less probable that any should undertake in such an affair, than it would have been if no attempt had been made.

removing to America. They laid great stress upon their peculiar tenets, but this did not lessen their regard to morality. The manners of the Dutch were too licentious for them. Their children left them; some became soldiers, and others sailors, in the Dutch service. In a few years their posterity would have been Dutch, and their church extinct. They were at a loss whether to remove to Guiana* or to Virginia, but the majority were in favour of the latter. The Dutch laboured to persuade them to go to Hudson's river, and settle under their West-India company; but they had not lost their affection for the English, and chose to be under their government and protection. They applied to the Virginia company for a patent for part of the country. To render it probable that their undertaking would not, like all former, be abortive, they gave among others these special reasons: "That they were well weaned from the delicate milk of their mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land. That they were knit together in a strict and sacred bond, by virtue of which they held themselves bound to take care of the good of each other, and of the whole. That it was not with them as with other men, whom small things could discourage, or small discontents cause to wish themselves at home again." The Virginia company were very much pleased with the application, and some of the chief of them addressed the King to grant the petitioners liberty in religion, under the great seal; but this was refused. He promised to connive, and not molest them; but this would not do for them at that time. They laid aside the design for that year. In 1619 they renewed their application and resolved to venture, though they could not have a special grant, from the King, of liberty of conscience. They hoped their remote situation would put them out of danger of the ecclesiastical courts. The affairs of the Virginia company were in great confusion, and it was the latter end of the year before the patent was granted. It was taken out, under the company's

* Sir Walter Rawleigh had raised the same of Guiana about this time.

MASSACHUSETTS-BAY. 11

company's seal, to John Wincob. He lived in the family of the Countess of Lincoln, and not removing with the rest, they never took any benefit from the patent. Mr. Weston and other merchants of London engaged, some to adventure their money, and some to go over with them. They therefore made the necessary preparations, and in July 1620, the principal of them went over to Southampton, where two ships were ready to take them on board. They sailed the beginning of August, but were obliged, repeatedly, to put back, and to leave one of their ships behind, with part of their company at last. They intended for Hudson's river or the coast near to it; but the Dutch had bribed their pilot, and he carried them farther northward, so that they fell in about Cape-Cod, and arrived in that harbour the 11th of November. The harbour is good, but the country is sandy and barren. This was discouraging, but it was too late in the year to put to sea again. They coasted about, in their boat, until they found a place more agreeable to them for a plantation, though not so good a harbour. Here they brought their ship, and determined to take up their abode. They gave it the name of New-Plimouth. Capt. Smith happened to give the name of Plimouth to the same place, in 1614. A very circumstantial account of the beginning and progress of this colony, wrote by Mr. Edward Winslow, one of the principal undertakers, is to be found among Purchase's collections*.

THE project of settling America, revived again, and a new patent was granted, bearing date Nov. 3d, 1620; incorporating the adventurers to the northern colony, by the name of the Council for the affairs of New-England; the bounds of the country were expressed, between 40 and 48 deg. N. Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. John Mason were two of the most active members of this council. All the sea coast, at one time or other, has been granted or pretended to be granted by this

B 2

council,

* In 1629 they obtained a patent from the Council of Plimouth

council, and some parts several times over, partly from defects in form in preceding grants, and partly from unacquaintance with the geography of the country. The first grant, within the bounds of the Massachusetts, was obtained by Mr. Weston, who in the summer of 1622, sent over two ships with 50 or 60 men, to begin a plantation at Wessagussett, since called Weymouth. They were sickly when they arrived, and received necessaries and refreshment from their neighbours at New-Plimouth. They were a dissolute crew, soon brought themselves to poverty, then robbed the Indians and offered other abuses to them. The Indians made their complaints to the colony of New-Plimouth; but the abuses continuing, the next year they laid a plot for the destruction of all Weston's company †. The plot was discovered to the New-Plimouth people, who sent some of their men and prevented the execution of it, by the surprisal of those who were to be the principal actors. Mr. Weston coming over to visit his plantation, was cast away in Ipswich bay, and stripped by the Indians of every thing but his shirt. Being thus rendered incapable of affording any relief to his colony, it came to an end, after one year's continuance.

CAPTAIN Robert Gorges obtained a patent from the council of Plimouth dated Dec. 13, 1622, 10 miles in breadth, and 30 miles into the land, on the north east side of Massachusetts bay. This was loose and uncertain, and no use ever made of it †. He

† It was this plantation, which gave occasion to the author of Hudibras to make merry with New-England in general, for hanging a bed-ridden weaver, instead of a useful cobbler. The Plimouth people, their neighbours, allowed that there was some foundation for the story. Several had been concerned in a theft. The Indians insisted that the ringleader should be put to death. They hanged one, who was less culpable and not like to live, in his stead. Others say they deceived the Indians, and hanged up one who died, of sickness or famine, a little while before. Hubbard.

† Robert Gorges conveyed his title to Sir William Brierton, who afterwards became an adventurer in the Massachusetts corporation. He acquainted the company, that he did not intend to contest with them, but desired a proportionable quantity of land might be assigned, for the accommodation of his people and servants. They gave

MASSACHUSETTS-BAY. 13

He was son to Sir Ferdinando, and employed by the council, in 1623, as Lieutenant-general, to restrain interlopers and regulate all affairs. He made some attempts to revive Weston's plantation, but returned home the same year, without success. Francis West came the same year, as Vice-Admiral, but made no stay. The Earl of Warwick had a patent for Massachusetts bay about the same time, but the bounds are not known.

IN 1624, Lyford, the minister of New-Plimouth, and one John Oldham, stirred up a faction there, and were banished that colony. They began a settlement at Nantasket. The same year, some persons, belonging to Dorchester in England, sent over fishermen and made necessary provision for a fishery at Cape-Ann, and Roger Conant †, who, with John Oldham, had left Plimouth, and removed with the rest to Nantasket, was appointed their overseer. A grant was made by one of the Gorges, it is not said which, to Oldham and others, of part of Massachusetts bay, which occasioned some dispute between them and the Massachusetts grantees ‡.

In

him a very respectful answer, but declined acknowledging his title by any capitulation. They promised him land sufficient for the encouragement of his design, but he must take it as one of the company, &c. Mass. Records, Feb. 10, 1629. When the new charter in 1691 was preparing, one Mr. Levet, as heir at law to Sir-William, laid in a claim to the lands contained in this grant, but it met with no countenance from the committee of Council. M. S.

† He lived until about 1680, and died at Beverly, in the county of Essex. He is always spoken of, as a person of worth. The superior condition of the persons who came over with the charter, cast a shade upon him, and he lived in obscurity. There are several of his descendants remaining. Some of distinction, in the colony of Connecticut. Governor's island in Boston harbour, was called Conant's island.

‡ At the end of the first book of records of deeds for the county of Suffolk, is the copy of a letter from the company in England to Capt. John Endicott, dated Gravesend, 27th April, 1629, in the close of which is thus written.

"I finde Mr. Oldham's graunt from Mr. Gorge, is to him and John Dorrell, for all the lands within Mattachufett bay, betwene Charls river and Aboufett river, containing in length, by a straight line, 5 miles up the said Charls river into the maine land, north west from the border of the said bay, including all creeks and poynts by the way; and 3 miles in length, from the mouth of the aforesaid river of Aboufett, up into the maine land, upon a straight line south west, including all creeks and ponds;

In 1625, one Capt. Wollaston, with about 30 persons began a plantation near Weston's. They gave it the name of Mount Wollaston. It was known by that name some years after, but, at length, the name was lost in that of Braintree, of which town it is a part †. No mention is made of a patent to Wollaston. One Morton, of Furnival's inn, was of this company. He was not left in command, but contrived to make himself chief, changed the name of Mount Wollaston to Merry Mount, set all the servants free, erected a may-pole, and lived a life of dissipation, until all the stock, intended for trade, was consumed. He was charged with furnishing the Indians with guns and ammunition, and teaching them the use of them. At length, he made himself so obnoxious to the planters in all parts, that, at their general desire, the people of New-Plimouth seized him by an armed force, and confined him, until they had an opportunity of sending him to England. In the fall of 1626, Roger Conant, and some, if not all, of his company removed from Cape-Ann to a neck of land upon Naumkeak river. I find mention made of planters at Winsmit about the same time, who probably removed there from some of the other plantations. This is all the account we have of any settlements, or attempts for settlements in the Massachusetts bay, until the year 1627. Mr. White, the minister of Dorchester, had encouraged Conant and his company to remain in New-England, and promised them men, provisions, &c.

In 1627, March 19, the Council of Plimouth sold to Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Young, Thomas Southcoat, John Humphry

and all the land, in breadth and length, betwene the foresaid rivers, with all prerogatives, royal mines excepted. The rent reserved, is 12d. on every 100 acres of land that shall be used. William Blackston, clerk, and William Jeffrys, gent. authorised to put John Oldham in possession. Having a sight of their graunt, this I found, tho' I hold it voyde in law, yet his claime being to this, you may, in your discretion, prevent him, by causing some to take possession of the chief part thereof."

† The particular hill which caused the name of Mount, is in the farm of John Quincy, Esq; late one of the council for the province.

MASSACHUSETTS-BAY. 15

Humphry, John Endicot, and Simon Whetcomb, who lived about Dorchester in England, their heirs and associates, all that part of New-England, three miles to the south of Charles river, and three miles north of Merimack river, from the Atlantic to the South Sea. All the lesser grants which have been mentioned within those limits (the settlement of the country being entirely neglected by the grantees) were, without doubt, looked upon to be forfeited or void. The conditions or tenor of none of them appear at this day. It is very likely, the three persons, first named in this grant, had nothing more in view by the purchase, than a settlement for trade with the natives, or for fishery, or other advantageous purposes. As soon as a colony for religion was projected, we hear no more of them *. The other three remained. Mr. White managed a treaty, between Sir Richard Saltonstall, Matthew Cradock and John Venn, Esquires, and divers others in and about London, and the original patentees. A purchase was made, and the same summer Mr. Endicot †, one of the original patentees, was sent over to Naumkeak with planters and servants, and all the affairs of the colony committed to his care. The patent, from the Council of Plimouth, gave a good right to the soil, but no powers of government.

* Some of the principal of the liberal speakers in parliament, being committed to the tower, others to other prisons, this took away all hope of reformation of church government from many not affecting episcopal jurisdiction, nor the usual practice of the common prayers of the church; thereof there were several sorts, though not agreeing among themselves, yet all of like dislike of those particulars. Some of the discreeter sort, to avoid what they found themselves subject to, made use of their friends to procure, from the council for the affairs of New-England, to settle a colony within their limits.—In a very short time, numbers of people, of all sorts, flocked thither in heaps; that, at last, it was especially ordered by the King's command, that none should be suffered to go without licence; so that, what I long before prophesied, when I could hardly get any for money to reside there, was now brought to pass.

Ferd. Gorges History of New-England.

† His instructions were dated London, May 30, 1628, and signed by John Venn, Matthew Cradock, George Harwood, John Humphry, Richard Perry, George Hewson, Samuel Aldersley, Thomas Stevens, Joseph Caxon, Thomas Webb, Increase Nowell, Hugh Peters, John White, and Abraham Palmer. His first letters from Naumkeak were dated Sept. 13, 1628.

government. A royal charter was necessary. This passed the seals, March 4, 1628. Matthew Cradock was appointed the first governor, and Thomas Goffe, deputy governor. Two days before, March 2d, some affairs of the colony requiring it, there had been a meeting of the company, at which both governor and deputy are named as such. The day, for the annual election of officers by charter, being the last Wednesday in Easter term, on the 13th of May 1628, Mr. Cradock was chosen governor by the company, and Mr. Goffe deputy governor, and Sir Richard Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson, Samuel Aldersey, John Venn, John Humphry, Simon Whetcomb, Increase Nowell, Richard Perry, Nathaniel Wright, Samuel Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Adams, Thomas Hutchins, George Foxcroft, William Vassall, William Pincheon, John Pocock, and Christopher Coulson, assistants. William Burgis was chosen secretary in the room of John Washburne. At this court it was determined, that every one of the company, who had subscribed fifty pounds, should have 200 acres of land assigned, and in proportion for a greater or lesser sum as the first dividend. The names of all the adventurers, and the sums subscribed, were sent over to Mr. Endicot, who was appointed their governor in the plantation. A second embarkation, of planters and servants, had been determined at a meeting April 30, to be made with all speed*. Four ministers were provided. Three of them, Francis Higginson, Samuel Skelton, and Francis Bright, were readily accepted by the company, and had all due encouragement promised them; the fourth, Ralph Smith, was required to give under his hand, that he would not exercise his ministry within the limits of the patent

* Mr. Endicot sent three brethren, Ralph, Richard and William Sprague, to explore the country westward. Between Mistick and Charles rivers they find a body of Indians settled, called Aberginians, and one English house, thatched and possessed by Thomas Walford, a smith. The Indian name of the neck was Mithawun, now Charlestown. The first travellers, with the consent of the Indians, took up their abode there. Some of their posterity remain there; and in other parts of the colony to this day.

patent without the express leave of the governor upon the spot †. Five ships were provided for this embarkation. Mr. Higginson says in his journal, that he sailed from the Isle of Wight the 11th of May, and arrived at Cape-Ann the 27th of June, and at Naumkeag the 29th. They found at Naumkeag about an 100 planters, 8 houses, besides a fair house built for Mr. Endicot. The old and new planters together were about 300, of which, 100 removed to Charlestown, where there was a house built; the rest remained at Salem. Mr. Endicot had corresponded with the settlers at Plimouth, who satisfied him, that they were right in their judgments of the outward form of worship, being much like to that of the reformed churches in France, &c. ‡ On the 20th of July, Mr. Higginson and Mr. Skelton, after fasting and prayer, were first elected by the company for their ministers, the first, teacher, the other, pastor; each of them, together with three or four grave members, laying their hands on the other, with solemn prayer. Nothing is said of any church being then
C formed;

† Mr. Bright, one of these ministers, is said, by Hubbard, to have been a conformist. He went, soon after his arrival, to Charlestown, and tarried about a year in the country. Mr. Smith seems to have been of the separation in England, which occasioned the caution used with him: He was a little while at Nantasket, and went from thence to Plimouth, where he was their minister several years.

‡ Mr. Hubbard, in his M. S. history, remarks upon this occasion; "It is certainly known, that the old non-conformists and good old puritans, of Queen Elizabeth's and King James's time, did in many things not symbolize with the separatists; the one endeavouring only a reformation of some corruptions retained or crept into the church (as they thought) either before or after its reformed state; the other, not contented therewith, stobd, as stiffly, to maintain a necessity of disannulling their former church state, as that like a vessel, once infected with leprosy, it must be broken in pieces to be new cast.—It is affirmed, that Mr. Hildersham advised Mr. Higginson and other ministers looking this way, to agree upon their form of church government before they came away from England; which counsel, if it had been attended, might have prevented some inconvenience that hath since fallen out, or, at least, have saved some of the succeeding ministers from the imputation of departing from their first principles, because they were not publickly declared in the beginning of things." M. S. History.

formed ; but on the 6th of August, the day appointed for the choice and ordination of elders and deacons, thirty persons entered into a covenant in writing, which is said to be the beginning of the church, and that the ministers were ordained or instituted anew. The repetition of this form they probably thought necessary, because the people were not in a church state before. It is difficult to assign any other reason. Messengers or delegates, from the church of Plimouth, were expected to join with them, but contrary winds hindered them in their passage, so that they did not arrive until the afternoon, but time enough to give the right hand of fellowship. Two of the company, John Brown, and Samuel Brown, one a lawyer, the other a merchant, both men of good estates, and of the first patentees and of the council, were dissatisfied. They did not like that the common prayer and service of the church of England should be wholly laid aside, and therefore drew off, with as many as were of their sentiments, from the rest, and set up a separate society. This offended the governor, who caused the two members of his council to be brought before him ; and judging, that this practice, together with some speeches they had uttered, tended to sedition, he sent them back to England. The heads of the party being removed, the opposition ceased. †

WHILST

† They applied to the company, upon their arrival in England, for recompence for the damages they had sustained, and the matter was referred to Samuel Vassall, William Vassall, Simon Whetcomb and William Pynchon, chosen by the complainants, and John White, John Davenport, Isaac Johnson, and John Winthrop, chosen by the company. The letters which the Browns had sent over to their private friends, were stopped by the company in England, and opened and publicly read, to prevent any prejudice to the plantation. Mass. Rec. It does not appear, by the records, how the dispute was finally issued.

“ It is a principle, that every religion which is persecuted, becomes itself persecuting ; for as soon, as, by some accidental turn, it arises from persecution, it attacks the religion which persecuted it,” &c.

Spirit of Laws

WHILST these things were doing in the colony, the company in England were projecting a much larger embarkation, and the transfer of the corporation itself, from Old England to New. Several gentlemen of figure and estate, Isaac Johnson, John Winthrop, Thomas Dudley, and divers others, who were dissatisfied with the arbitrary proceedings both in church and state, pleased themselves with the prospect of liberty in both, to be enjoyed in America, and proposed to the company at London to remove with their families ; but upon this condition only, that the patent and charter should remove with them. This proposal was first communicated July the 28th, 1629. A committee was appointed to consider of it, and to advise with counsel learned in the law, and to make report. The adventurers had been at great expence, without any returns made to them, and had no rational prospect of any profit from the plantation in the way they were in. The principal objection seems to have arose, from a doubt whether such a transfer was legal. The report of the committee is not recorded. Mr. White, a counsellor at law, was one of the company, and great stress was laid upon his opinion ; and on the 29th of August, it was determined, “ by the general consent of the company, that the government and patent should be settled in New-England.” It is evident from the charter, that the original design of it was to constitute a corporation in England, like to that of the East-India and other great companies, with powers to settle plantations within the limits of the territory, under such forms of government and magistracy as should be fit and necessary. The first step, in sending out Mr. Endicot, appointing him a council, giving him commission, instructions, &c. was agreeable to this construction of the charter.

In consequence of this new resolution, the members of the corporation, which remained in England, were to retain a share,

share, in the trading stock and the profits of it, for the term of seven years. The management of it was committed to five persons, who were going over, viz. J. Winthrop, Sir Richard Saltonstall, I. Johnson, T. Dudley, and J. Revel, and to five who were to remain, M. Cradock, N. Wright, T. Eaton, T. Goffe, and J. Young, and, at the expiration of the term, the stock, with the profits, was to be divided to each man, in proportion to his adventure. All other powers and privileges were to remain with the planters upon the spot. We have no account of any dividend ever made, nor indeed of any trade ever carried on for the company. There was another article; that one half the charge of fortifications and support of the ministers should be paid out of the joint stock, but no notice was taken of it in the colony.

THE 20th of October, at a general court of governor, deputy and assistants, and the generality, a new choice was made of governor, &c. consisting of such persons as had determined to go over with the patent. John Winthrop was elected governor, John Humfrey deputy governor, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson, Thomas Dudley, John Endicot, Increase Nowell, William Vassall, William Pyncheon, Samuel Sharp, Edward Roslitter, Thomas Sharp, John Revell, Matthew Cradock, Thomas Goffe, Samuel Aldersfey, John Venn, Nathaniel Wright, Theophilus Eaton, and Thomas Adams, assistants. † They did not all go over. From time to time until

† I have endeavoured to obtain as particular account, as can be now had of the character and circumstances of the principal undertakers.

Mr. Winthrop, the governor, was of Groton in Suffolk, descended from reputable ancestors. One of them, Adam Winthrop, is said to have been an eminent lawyer, and also a great favourer of the gospel in the reign of Henry the eighth. Mr. Winthrop was a justice of peace at the age of eighteen, and very early in life was exemplary for his polite as well as grave and christian deportment. He had an estate

until the general embarkation, as any one declined, some other person was chosen in his stead. First Roger Ludlow was chosen, instead of Samuel Sharp. § Whilst they were at Southampton,

at six or seven hundred pounds a year, which he turned into money, and embarked his all to promote the settlement of New-England. It is a very full evidence of the esteem he was in, that when many gentlemen of character, some of them of noble alliance, were concerned in the same undertaking with him, he, by a general voice was placed at their head. He was eleven times chosen governor, and spent his whole estate in the public service, the stipend being small, and his hospitality great, and his bayliff unfaithful. His son and grandson were successively governors of Connecticut colony. His great grandson, John Winthrop, Esq; died in London about 12 or 14 years ago. He was known there by the name of Governor Winthrop, a Fellow of the Royal Society, and one volume of the Philosophical Transactions is dedicated to him. And his posterity have been ever since respected and honoured, both in Connecticut and in the Massachusetts. Mr. Winthrop was about forty-three years of age when he removed.

Mr. Dudley's father, Capt. Roger Dudley, lost his life in the service of his country, leaving no other son. Mr. Dudley, early in life, engaged in the same service. In 1597, he raised a company of volunteers, received a captaincy from Queen Elizabeth, went over to France, and was at the siege of Amiens under Henry the fourth. After his return to England, he married a gentlewoman of good family and estate, and settled near Northampton, in the neighbourhood of Mr. Dod, Hilderham, and other celebrated puritan ministers, was a devout attendant upon their ministry, and (although he had been an officer) became a sober non-conformist. Lord Say and Seal recommended him to the Earl of Northampton. The Earl when he came to his estate, found it encumbered and entangled; but putting his affairs under the care of Mr. Dudley, he, by his prudent management, very happily extricated them. After which, leaving the service of the Earl, he removed to Boston, where he became acquainted with Mr. Cotton. He was soon desired to return to the Earl's family where he continued until he came to New-England. He was far advanced in life for such an undertaking, being fifty-four years of age. He was chosen into the magistracy every year of his life afterwards, four years governor, and often deputy governor. He married a second time in his old age, and had a new set of children; and it is very remarkable, that he was a captain in 1597, and in 1764 two of his grand children are living, viz. one elderly lady at New-London, in Connecticut colony, the

§ Samuel Sharp came over afterwards, and lived at Salem, but was never restored to the magistracy. Mass. Rec.

Southampton, (March 18) Sir Bryan Jansen, William Codrington and Simon Bradstreet, were chosen in the room of Mr. Wright, Eaton and Goffe, and yet Sir Bryan never came
to

the widow of John Winthrop, Esq; great grandson of the first governor, and another at Newbury in the Massachusetts, Mrs. Atkins.

Mr. Humfrey was early engaged. He was one of the six original patentees from the council of Plimouth. He was prevented from coming over with the charter. He married the Lady Susan, daughter to the Earl of Lincoln, and brought her, with their children to New-England in 1632, and was immediately chosen an assistant. He settled at Saugus, now Lynn, about 12 miles from Boston. Ebenezer Buril, Esq; late of the council, lived on part of his farm. Upon an invitation from Lord Say he intended, in the year 1640, to have removed to the Bahama islands; but the island of Providence being taken by the Spaniards, he gave over that design. Soon after having met with great losses by fire, and his estate being much impaired, he sold his plantation at Saugus to Lady Moody and returned to England.

Sir Richard Saltonstall was the first named associate to the six original patentees, Although he remained but a short time in New-England, yet his heart was set upon promoting the colony. He sent over two of his sons, one of which was chosen into the magistracy and continued in it, except while he was absent in England, until after the year 1680. Sir Richard was son or grandson of Sir Richard Saltonstall, Lord Mayor of London in 1597. He lived many years after his return to England. I have seen his name among the commissioners for the trial of Lilburn, or some other offender against the state. By a will made in 1658, he gave a legacy to the college in New-England. His great grandson, Gurdon Saltonstall, was many years governor of Connecticut, and some of his posterity, in that colony and the Massachusetts, are in esteem and honour to this day. Sir John Foche, a city knight in King William's reign, married his great grand daughter.

Mr. Johnson, in a will uncancelled, and which remains on the Massachusetts files, executed April 28, in the 5th of King Charles the first, calls himself of Cliphsham in the county of Rutland, son of Abraham Johnson, Esq; and grandson of Robert Johnson. Doctor Chaderton was his mother's father. He had much the largest estate of any of the undertakers. It lay in Rutland, Northamptonshire and Lincolnshire. He values his interest, at that time, in the New-England adventure, at six hundred pounds. He had no children. After providing for his lady, he gave a great number of legacies to his friends, and to pious and charitable uses; his lands he gave to his father and brethren. To Mr. Cotton, from whom, to the praise of God's grace he acknowledges to have received much help and comfort in his spiritual estate, he gave thirty pounds and a gown cloth. The advowson and right of patronage of the parish church of Cliphsham, he gave to Mr. Dudley and Mr. Cotton. He limited his funeral charges to 250l. As providence ordered it, a small part of that sum sufficed.

to New-England. Even after they had embarked, at a court on board the Arabella, Mr. Dudley was chosen deputy governor, in the room of Mr. Humfrey who staid behind. It is not
matter

sufficed. His heart was set on the New-England concern, and he ordered his executors to carry on his share or part in it. He made another will before his death, and appointed John Hamden, Esq; one of his executors, with Winthrop and Dudley. Upon his death-bed, he is said to have rejoiced that he had lived to see a church of Christ gathered in America; and professed that he thought his life better spent than in any other way. He was buried, at his own request, in part of the ground upon Trimontain or Boston, which he had chosen for his lot, the square between School-street and Queen-street. He may be said to have been the idol of the people, for they ordered their bodies, as they died, to be buried round him; and this was the reason of appropriating for a place of burial, what is now called the old burying-place, adjoining to King's-chapel. He married the Lady Arabella, another daughter of the Earl of Lincoln.

Mr. Endicot, the next named, was among the most zealous undertakers, and the most rigid in principles, as will appear in the course of the history. This disposition distinguished him, more than his other mental accomplishments or his outward condition in life. I have seen a letter, from the Secretary of State in King Charles the second's time, wherein is this expression, "The King would take it well, if the people would leave out Mr. Endicot from the place of governor." Some of his posterity remain at or near Salem.

Mr. Nowell was nephew to Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's in Queen Elizabeth's reign, or else the Dean was his great uncle. He was a ruling elder, some time of the church at Charlestown; but that place and a place in the civil order were thought in that day, not well to consist, and therefore he quitted it, chusing the places of assistant and secretary.

Mr. William Vassall, as well as his brother Samuel Vassall, were gentlemen of good circumstances in England, but do not seem to have been fully of the same sentiment in matters of religion with the planters in general; and although William came over with the first company, yet he soon went back to England. He returned a few years after to New-England, and settled at Scituate in Plymouth colony, not because they were reputed more rigid than the Massachusetts people. When Jamaica was taken, by Cromwell, he laid the foundation of several fine estates there, enjoyed by his posterity to the present time.

Mr. Pyncheon was a gentleman of learning as well as religion. He laid the foundation of Roxbury, but soon removed to Connecticut river, was the father of the town of Springfield, where his family hath flourished ever since.

Edward Rossiter was of a good family in the west of England. He died the first year. His son lived afterwards at Combe. His grandson Edward Rossiter, in the year 1682, was deacon of Mr. Joseph Alleine's church in Taunton. He says in a
letter,

matter of wonder that they discovered so great want of resolution. It is strange that so many persevered. It shews some little fortitude, in a man in health and vigour, who goes thro' the

letter, dated March 23, 1682, that his grandfather, a pious gentleman of good estate, left England for the sake of religion.

Thomas Sharp and John Revell made but a short stay in New-England.

Mr. Eaton was an East-country merchant. His father was a minister in Coventry. He did not come to New-England until 1637. And then settled New-Haven colony, of which he was governor all his life after. His correspondence, both with the governor of the Massachusetts and with the Dutch governor of Manhadoes, or New-York, discover a good understanding and virtuous mind.

Mr. Coddington was of Lincolnshire, zealous to a great degree, was afterwards the father of Rhode Island colony, where his zeal abated, and he promoted a general toleration. He was many years their governor, and would gladly have joined in confederacy with the other colonies, but different sentiments upon religion prevented.

Mr. Bradstreet was of Emanuel College Cambridge, from whence he removed to the family of the Earl of Lincoln as his steward, and afterwards he lived in the same capacity with the Countess of Warwick. He married one of Mr. Dudley's daughters, and, after her death, a sister of Sir George Downing, he lived to be the Nestor of New-England, was born the beginning of the century in 1603, and wanted but three or four years of completing it. I suppose Sir Simon Bradstreet and Dudley Bradstreet, of the Kingdom of Ireland, are descended from him.

Mr. Venn, commonly called colonel Venn, was in the design from the beginning, and intended to have removed, but never did. Upon the change of affairs in England he made a figure there, being one of the members for the city in the long parliament, and among the most active in the opposition to the court, and was one of the King's judges.

Mr. Cradock was more forward in advancing out of his substance than any other, being generally the highest in all subscriptions. He was an eminent merchant in London, and continued, divers years, to carry on a trade in the colony by his servants, but he never came over. His son or grandson Samuel Cradock, was a dissenting minister at Wickambrook in 1690. George Cradock, Esq; now in publick posts in the colony, is descended from him.

I can give no account of the other assistants.

Sir William Brereton was one of the company, and seems to have been preparing to come over, but he found employment also in the long parliament and in the army, was at the head of the forces which reduced Chester. Several others, as Mrs. Blackhouse, Mr. Whitchote, Captain Waller, Mr. Pocock, Mr. Harwood, and other persons of note were of the company, and great promoters of the plantation. Lincolnshire contributed greatly, and more of our principal families derive their origin from

thence

the fatigues of a long voyage, and spends but a few months in a wilderness, among Savages, and in a climate more severe than he had ever experienced. What must we think, then, of persons of rank and good circumstances in life bidding a final adieu to all the conveniences and delights of England, their native country, and exposing themselves, their wives and children, to inevitable hardships and sufferings, in a long voyage across the Atlantick, to land upon a most inhospitable shore, destitute of any kind of building to secure them from the inclemency of the weather, and of most sorts of food to which they had been always used at their former home? The sickness and mortality which prevailed the first winter, they did not foresee. It is an observation, since made, that most parts of America have proved unhealthy (except where the country is cleared) until persons have had a seasoning in it.

ELEVEN ships, which sailed from different ports in England, arrived at New-England before the end of July. Six more arrived before the end of the year. They brought above 1500 passengers. The Arabella, on board which was the governor, and several of the assistants, left Yarmouth between the 7th and 10th of April. On the 7th the governor, and divers others on board, signed a paper directed to their

D

brethren

thence than from any part of England, unless the city of London be an exception. The Countess of Warwick was a benefactor. In 1634, the general court voted, "that there should be letters of thankfulness signed by the court and sent to the Countess of Warwick, Mr. Paynter, Mr. Wood, and others that have been benefactors to this plantation." The Earl of Warwick, her son, was a patron of the colony, and was very able as well as willing to do kind offices to it as long as he lived. Some of the ministers were of families of distinction. Mr. Bulkley from Bedfordshire, of an honourable family there. Samuel Whiting, who was minister of Lynn, married a daughter of Oliver St. John. She came with him to New-England. John Shearman, minister of Watertown, married a granddaughter of Earl Rivers. Her father, Mr. Laune, was a gentleman of 1400 l. a year. She was alive in 1697, the mother of 20 children.

brethren of the church of England, to remove suspicions or misconstructions, and to ask their prayers. This paper has occasioned a dispute, whether the first settlers of the Massachusetts were of the church of England or not. However problematical it may be, what they were while they remained in England, they left no room for doubt after they arrived in America. The Arabella arrived at Salem the 12th of June, || The common people immediately went ashore and regaled themselves with strawberries, which are very fine in America, and were then in perfection. This might give them a favorable idea of the produce of the country, but the gentlemen met with a enough to fill them with concern. The first news they had, was of a general conspiracy, a few months before, of all the Indians as far as Naraganset, to extirpate the English. Eighty persons out of about three hundred, had died in the colony the winter before, and many of those that remained were in a weak sickly condition. There was not corn enough to have lasted above a fortnight, and all other provisions very scant. They were obliged to give all the servants, † they had sent over, their liberty, that they might shift for themselves, although they had cost from sixteen to twenty pounds a head. They had not above three or four months to look out proper places for settlements, and to provide shelter against the severity of the winter. With this prospect of difficulties, great enough for them to encounter, sickness began among them. Being destitute of necessary accommodations, they dropped away one after another. Among others, the lady Arabella, who, to use Mr. Hubbard's words, "came from a paradise of plenty and pleasure, in the family of a noble Earl, into a wilderness of wants, and although celebrated for her many virtues, yet was not able to encounter the adversity she was

|| Masconomco, the Sagamore of Cape-Ann, came on board the next morning after the governor's arrival to bid him welcome. Hub-

† The whole number sent over was 180. This was a heavy loss.

was furrounded with, and in about a month after her arrival she ended her days at Salem where she first landed." Mr. Johnson, her husband, highly esteemed for his piety and wisdom, overcome with grief, survived her a short time only, and died at Boston the 30th of September, to the great loss of the colony. Mr. Rossiter another of the assistants, died soon after. Before December they had lost two hundred of their number, including a few who died upon their passage.

THE governor and some of the principal persons left Salem the 17th of June, and travelled through the woods to Charlestown, about 20 miles, to look out for a convenient place for their chief town, which they had determined should be in some part of the bay or harbour between Nantasket and Cambridge. At first they pitched upon the north side of Charles river, or rather north-west, by the major voice; but a number of the principal gentlemen having fixed their cottages (shelters intended for one winter only) upon the opposite side of the river, the governor and most of the assistants removed to them in November. They were however undetermined where to build in the spring. A fortified town, at least palisaded, was thought necessary to defend them against the natives, and they could not agree upon the most convenient place for that purpose.

THEY found when they arrived, a few families scattered about in several parts of the bay. Mr. Maverick, who will often appear in the course of this history, lived upon Noddle's island, a grant or confirmation of which he afterwards obtained from the court. He had built a small fort, and had four cannon mounted there. At a point upon Shawmut or Timontaine, since Boston, * lived Mr. Blaxton, who had left England

* Said to be called so from respect to Mr. Cotton, minister of Boston in England, who they expected to follow them.

England, being dissatisfied there, and not a thorough conformist ; but he was more dissatisfied with the non-conformity of the new-comers. He told them he came from England because he did not like the Lords Bishops, but he could not join with them because he did not like the Lords-Brethren. He claimed the whole peninsula upon which Boston is built, because he was the first that slept upon it. He had a grant of a very handsome lot there at the west part of the town, but he chose to quit all and removed to the southward, at or near what is since called Providence, † where he liv'd to old age. There were also several families at Mattapan, since called Dorchester, or rather Dorchester-neck ; here ‡ Mr. Ludlow and Mr. Rossiter pitched, with two ministers, Mr. Warham and Mr. Maverick. On the north of Charles river (Charlestown) were the remains of those who had moved the last year from Salem ; here Mr. Nowell and some of his friends made their pitch, but considered themselves and Boston, at first, as but one settlement and one church, with Mr. Wilson for their minister. When he went to England in the spring, Charlestown became a distinct church and town, and took Mr. James for their minister. Sir Richard Saltonstall chose a place some miles up Charles river, which has taken the name of Watertown. His company took Mr. Phillips for their minister. Mr. Phyncheon was at the head of another company who settled between Dorchester and Boston. Their town took the name of Roxbury. They had Mr. Elliot § for their minister. Medford and Mistic were then distinct places, though not so at present. At Medford, || which I take

† One Mr. Blakestone a minister, went from Boston, having lived there 9 or 10 years, because he would not join with the church. He lives near Mr. Williams, but is far from his opinion. Leachford.

‡ They arrived at Nantasket, the 30th of May, from Plymouth in England.

§ He did not come over until 1631. Mr. Weld was his colleague.

|| Wood.

take to have been a small village at the lower part of Mistick river, now called Neck of Land, where a creek also ran into Charles river, it was intended a settlement should be made for Mr. Cradock and the people he was sending and had sent over. Here, by his agents, he built vessels of burden. At these several places, together with Salem, the whole company were settled for the first winter. They had little time enough to provide their huts. As soon as December came, their outdoor work was over. On the 6th of December the governor and assistants met and agreed to fortify the neck between Boston and Roxbury, and orders were given for preparing the materials; but at another meeting, on the 21st, they laid that design aside, and agreed on a place * about three miles above Charlestown, and most of them engaged to build houses there the next year. The weather held tolerable until the 24th of December, but the cold then came on with violence. Such a Christmas eve they had never seen before. From that time, to the 10th of February, their chief care was to keep themselves warm, and as comfortable in other respects as their scant provisions would permit. The poorer sort were much exposed, lying in tents and miserable hovels, and many died of the scurvy and other distempers. They were so short of provisions, that many were obliged to live upon clams, mussels and other shell-fish, with ground-nuts and acorns instead of bread. One, that came to the governor's house to complain of his sufferings, was prevented, being informed that, even there, the last batch was in the oven. Some instances are mentioned of great calmness and resignation in this distress. A good man, who had asked his neighbour to a dish of clams, after dinner returned thanks to God who had given them to suck of the abundance of the seas and of treasure hid in the sands. They had appointed the 22d of February for a fast, but on the 5th, to their great joy, the ship Lyon, Capt. Pierce, one of the last year's

* First called Newtown, since Cambridge.

year's fleet, returned laden with provisions from England, which were distributed according to the necessities of the people. They turned their fast into a thanksgiving.

In the spring of 1631, they pursued their design of a fortified town at Newtown. The governor set up the frame of a house; the deputy governor finished his house and removed his family. About this time, Chicketawbut, the chief of the Indians near Boston, came to visit the governor and made high professions of friendship. The apprehensions of danger lessened by degrees, the design of a fortified town went off in the same proportion, until it was wholly laid aside. The governor took down his frame and carried it to Boston. Mr. Dudley, the deputy, was offended, and persisted for some time in his first determination of residing at Newtown, but at length removed to Roxbury.

THIS scheme, of a fortified town, was well enough while they were uncertain what the temper of the natives would be. Their design was to make improvements, and to extend their settlements in the several parts of the country. Unless they were upon such terms with the Indians, that they could do this with safety, the colony could not long subsist. If they were upon such terms, fortified towns were unnecessary. *

THE high price of provisions, this year in England, impoverished the colony. Every bushel of wheat meal cost, including the freight, 14s. sterling; every bushel of pease 10s. and Indian corn, imported from Virginia, sold at 10s. † Some were

* Mr. Dudley says, they laid aside all thought of a fort, because upon any invasion when they should retire to it, they must necessarily lose their houses. Letter to Countess of Lincoln. There was the same objection to a fortified town, if the inhabitants of other towns and villages should retire to it.

† It was the year 1633, before they knew they should be able to raise English grain, if we may credit Johnson. "This year, a small glean of rye was brought to the court, as the first fruits of English grain, at which, this poor people greatly rejoiced to see the land would bear it." Johnson 1633.

were discouraged and returned to England, viz. Sir Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Sharpe, &c. and never came back ; but others, in hopes of better times, went over to fetch their families and returned with them, viz. Mr. Wilfon, Coddington, † &c. They went in the Lyon, which brought their supply. In the same ship, Sir Christopher Gardner was sent home under confinement. He was a knight of the sepulchre, but concealed his true character, and came over last year under pretence of separating himself from the world, and living a life of retirement and devotion. He offered to join several of the churches, but he was suspected to be an immoral man, and not received. He had a comely young woman, who travelled with him. He called her his cousin. For some miscarriages in the Massachusetts, he fled to the Indians. They carried him to Plymouth, having first used him pritty roughly. From thence he was sent to Boston. He joined afterwards, with Gorges, Mason and others, in complaints against the colony.

Mr. Wilfon left the church on the south side of the river without a minister. At his parting he recommended them to the care of the governor, deputy-governor and other godly and able christians, to carry on the worship of God, on the Lord's-day, by prophesying until his return.

So much of their attention was necessary in order to provide for their support, that little business was done by the assistants or by the general court. The removal of the charter made many new regulations necessary, which were settled by degrees. The first court of assistants was at Charlestown, August

† The following paragraph, in a letter to Mr. Cotton from Mr. Coddington, London June 4th, 1632, shews with what zeal he had embarked in this undertaking. "I am, I thank God, in bodily health, yet not enjoying that freedom of spirit, being withheld from that place which my soul desireth and my heart earnestly worketh after ; neither, I think, shall I see it till towards the next spring, my wife being with child, and all her friends unwilling she should go in that condition."

gust 23^d, about two months after their arrival. A beadle, a corporation officer, was appointed. It was then ordered, that the governor and deputy for the time being, should be justices of the peace, four of the then assistants were also appointed justices. All justices whatsoever were to have the same power, for reformation of abuses and punishing offenders, which justices have in England, but no corporal punishment to be inflicted except by an assistant. In high offences, the governor and assistants sat as a court, as well as in civil matters. There was a trial by a jury this year for murder, and the person charged was acquitted. The first general court was held the 19th of October, not by a representative, but by every one, that was free of the corporation in person. None had been admitted freemen since they left England. The governor and assistants had a great influence over the court. It was ordered, that, for the future, the freemen should chuse the assistants, and the assistants, from among themselves, chuse the governor and deputy-governor. The court of assistants were to have the power of making laws and appointing officers. This was a departure from their charter. One hundred and nine freemen were admitted at this court. Maverick, Blackstone, and many more who were not of any of the churches, were of this number. This was all that was transacted, that was any thing material, the first year. The next general court was the court of election for 1631. The scale was now turned, and the freemen resolved to chuse both governor, deputy and assistants, notwithstanding the former vote, and made an order, that, for the time to come, none should be admitted to the freedom of the body politick but such as were church members. †

THIS

† None may now be a freeman of that company, unless he be a church member among them. None have voice in elections of governor, deputy and assistants, none are to be magistrates, officers or jurymen, grand or petit, but freemen. The ministers give their votes in all elections of magistrates. Now the
most

THIS was a most extraordinary order or law, and yet it continued in force until the dissolution of the government, it being repealed, in appearance only, * after the restoration of King Charles the second. Had thy been deprived of their civil privileges in England by an act of parliament, unless they would join in communion with the churches there, it might very well have been the first in the roll of grievances. But such were the requisites to qualify for church membership here, that the grievance was abundantly greater.

THE scarcity of the former year excited the inhabitants to make the greater improvements, by tillage, as soon as the spring advanced, and it pleased God to give them such favourable seasons, that they had a very plentiful harvest; and Indian corn, † which could not be purchased with money the year before, at the end of this year was made a tender in discharge of all debts, except money or beaver had been specially agreed for. Cattle were extremely dear, a great part of what had been shipped from England being dead, and a milch cow was valued at 25 to 30*l.* sterling.

THE same governor and deputy governor and such of the assistants of 1630, as were living and in the colony, were re-elected for the year 1631. ‡ They continued to make the

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most of the persons at New-England are not admitted of their church, and therefore are not freemen; and when they come to be tried there, be it for life or limb, name or estate, or whatsoever, they must be tried and judged too by those of the church who are, in a sort, their adversaries. How equal that hath been or may be, some by experience do know, others may judge. Lechford.

* The minister was to certify, that the candidates for freedom were of orthodox principles and of good lives and conversations.

† This however was mean diet, and distasteful to Europeans in general. "The want of English grain, wheat, barley and rye, proved a sore affliction to some stomachs who could not live upon Indian bread and water, yet were they compelled to it." Johnson.

‡ This year, and this only, the assistants chosen are not named in the colony records. Hubbard.

same choice for 1632, with the addition of Mr. John Humfrey, who had been deputy governor in England, but was prevented coming the first year, and John Winthrop, jun. the governor's eldest son, who, with his wife, mother, and some others of the family, arrived in October the year before. They were frequently alarmed this year § by the Indians, which put them into confusion; happy for them, that in this their feeble infant state they were only alarmed. A company of Eastern Indians called Tarretines, about an hundred in number, assaulted the wigwams of the Sagamore of Agawam. * They came by water in 30 canoes, slew seven Indians and wounded two Sagamores who lived near Boston, and carried away captives one of their wives with divers other Indians. The governor likewise received advice from the governor of Plymouth of a broil between some English of that colony and some of the Naraganset Indians, who set upon the English house at Sowam; † also of motions made by the Pequods, which caused the Dutch governor of Manhadoes to give notice to the English to be upon their guard. A shallop belonging to Dorchester having been missing all the winter, it appeared, this summer, that the crew, consisting of five men, had been secretly murdered by the Eastern Indians. However, the Sagamores, near Boston, made professions of friendship, and on the 5th of August this year, Miantinomo, one of the great Sachems of the Naragansets, the most numerous of all the Indians between Boston and Hudson's river, came down to Boston whether out of fear or love they could not tell, to enter into a league of friendship with the colony. He and his followers were invited to attend the public worship, but three of them withdrew in sermon time, and to satisfy their hunger, broke into an

§ There was an alarm in 1631 at Saugus or Lynn. Lieut. Walker, then upon the watch, was shot through his cloaths by two arrows, but by an immediate discharge of a culverin it was supposed the Indians withdrew. Johnson, &c.

* Ipswich.

† In part of what is now Bristol.

an English house to get victuals. The Sagamore, who was a very high spirited fellow, could hardly be persuaded to order them any corporal punishment ; but he was so ashamed of his attendants, that he ordered them out of town, and followed them himself soon after.

THE French also occasioned some uneasy apprehensions. They had been drove from Accady by Sir Samuel Argall in 1613. The people of New-Plimouth had set up a trading house, at Penobscot, about the year 1627. Intelligence was brought this year to the Massachusetts, that in 1630 or 1631 Sir William Alexander had sold the country of Nova-Scotia to the French, and that the fort, with all the ammunition and stores, was delivered to them ; that Cardinal Richlieu had ordered some companies there, and that more were expected the next year with Priests, Jesuits, &c. This news alarmed the governor and council, and put them upon consultations for their defence. They determined to finish a fort which was begun at Boston, to build another at Nantasket, and to hasten the settlement of Agawam (Ipswich,) it being one of the best places both for pasture and tillage, lest an enemy should take possession and prevent them. Mr. Winthrop, the governor's son, was accordingly sent to begin a plantation there. * It appears

* The Tarrateen, or Eastern Indians, who had a spite against the Indians of Agawam, and had attacked them and drove them from their settlement, intended mischief against the English also, as appears by the following account, preserved among the papers of Mr. Cobbett, the minister of Agawam or Ipswich :

" At the first planting of Ipswich, as a credible man informed me, namely Quartermaster Perkins, the Tarrateens or Easterly Indians had a design to have cut them off at the first, when they had but between 20 and 30 men, old and young, belonging to the place ; and, at that instant, most of them gone into the bay about their occasions, not hearing of any intimations thereof. It was thus : One Robert, a friendly Indian, came to this John Perkins, then a young man, living then in a little hut upon his father's island on this side of Jeffery's neck, and told him, on such a Thursday morning, early, they would come four Indians, to draw him to go down the hill to the water side, to truck with them, which, if he did, he

" and

appears that their apprehensions of the French designs, to take possession of some part or other of the coast, were not ill founded ; for they sent a ship, this year to Penobscot, as a prelude to what was to come after. Governor Bradford of Plimouth gives this account of it. “ This year the house at Penobscot is robbed by the French in this manner : While the master of the house, and part of the company with him, is come with one vessel to the westward to fetch a supply of goods, brought over for us, a small French vessel, having a false Scot aboard, goes into the harbour, pretends they are newly come from sea, knows not where they are, that the vessel is very leaky, and desires they may haul her ashore and stop her leaks, making many French complements and congees : And seeing but three or four simple men, who are servants, and, by the Scotchman, understanding the master and the rest of the company are gone from home, fall to commending the guns and muskets which lie on the racks by the wall side, take them down to look on them, asking if they were charged, and when possessed of them, one presents a loaded piece against the servants, another a pistol, they bid them not to stir but deliver the goods, and made them help in carrying them all aboard, to the value of four or five hundred pounds sterling, prime cost ; three hundred weight of beaver, the rest in trading goods, as coats, rugs, blankets, &c.

“ and all near him would be cut off, for there were 40 birchlin canoes would lie out of sight at the brow of the hill, full of armed Indians for that purpose. Of this he forthwith acquainted Mr. John Winthrop, who then lived there in a house near the water, who advised him, if such Indians came, to carry it ruggedly towards the water, threaten to shoot them if they would not be gone, and when their backs were turned, to strike up a deers he had with him besides his two muskets, and then charge them, that so 6 or 8 young men, who were in the marshes hard by a morning, hearing their guns ready charged by them, might take the alarm, and the Indians would perceive their plot was discovered and huddle away to sea again ; which accordingly was so acted and took like effect, for he told me, he presently after discerned 40 such canoes shove off from under the hill and make as fast as they could to sea.”

" &c. then set the servants at liberty and go away with this
 " taunting message, tell your master, when he returns, that
 " some of the Isle of Rhee gentlemen have been here."

It appears that the Massachusetts people took possession of the country at a very critical time. Richlieu, in all probability, would have planted his colony nearer the sun, if he could have found any place vacant. De Monts and company had acquired a thorough knowledge of all the coast from Cape Sables beyond Cape Cod in 1604; indeed it does not appear that they then went round or to the bottom of Massachusetts-Bay. Had they once gained footing there, they would have prevented the English. The Frenchified court of King Charles the first would at the treaty of St. Germain, have given up any claim to Massachusetts-Bay as readily as they did to Acadie; for the French could make out no better title to Penobscot, and the other parts of Acadie, than they could to the Massachusetts. The little plantation at New-Plimouth would have been no greater bar to the French in one place than in the other. The Dutch, the next year, would have quietly possessed themselves of Connecticut river, unless the French, instead of the English, had prevented them. Whether the people of either nation would have persevered is uncertain. If they had done it, the late contest for the dominion of North-America would have been between France and Holland, and the commerce of England would have borne a very different proportion to that of the rest of Europe from what it does at present.

THE new settlers were in perils also from their own countrymen. Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. Mason, two of the council of Plimouth, who with a view to the advancement of their fortunes, had expended large sums to little purpose in attempts to settle colonies in New-England, beheld the Massachusetts with an envious eye. They intended, for themselves,

selves, all that part of the colony which lies to the Eastward of Naumkeag. Gardiner and Morton, || to revenge the affronts they had received, joined with them in a complaint to the King in council against the colony. At this time they failed

|| Morton wrote the following letter to one Jeffries in New-England: "My very good gossip! If I should commend myself to you, you would reply with this proverb, *propria laus sordet in ore*, but to leave impertinent salutes and really proceed, you shall hereby understand, that although when I was first sent to England, to make complaint against Ananias and the brethren, I effected the business but superficially (through the brevity of time,) I have at this time taken deliberation, and brought the matter to a better pass, and it is brought about, that the King hath taken the matter into his own hands. The Massachusetts patent, by an order of council, was brought in view, the privileges therein granted well scanned, and at the council board, in presence of Sir Richard Saltonstall and the rest it was declared, for manifold abuses therein discovered, to be void. The King hath re-assumed the whole business into his own hands, and given order, for a general governor for the whole territory, to be sent over. The commission is passed the privy seal, I saw it, and the same was sent to my Lord Keeper, to have it pass the great seal, and I now stay to return with the governor, by whom all complainants shall have relief. So that now, Jonas being set ashore, may safely cry, Repent ye cruel schismatics, repent, there are yet but 40 days. If Jove vouchsafe to thunder, the charter and the kingdom of the separatists will fall asunder.—My lord of Canterbury, with my lord privy seal, having caused all Mr. Cradock's letters to be viewed and his apology for the brethren particularly heard, protested against him and Mr. Humphries that they were a couple of imposturous knaves, so that, for all their great friends, they departed the council chamber in our view with a pair of cold shoulders. I have staid long, yet have not lost my labour. The brethren have found themselves frustrated, and I shall see my desire upon my enemies.—Of these things I thought good by so convenient a messenger, to give you notice, lest you should think I died in obscurity, as the brethren vainly intended I should. As for Ratcliffe, he was comforted by their lordships with the cropping of Mr. Winthrop's ears, which shews what opinion is held, amongst them, of King Winthrop with all his inventions and his Amsterdam and fantastical ordinances, his preachings, marriages and other abusive ceremonies, which exemplify his detestation of the church of England, and contempt of his Majesty's authority and wholesome laws. I rest your loving friend,

Thomas Morton."

May 18, 1634.

Morton came to New-England again, in 1643, when this letter and a book he had wrote, full of invectives, were produced against him. He was truly called the accuser of the brethren. The court fined him 100 l. He was poor and unable to pay it. Nothing but his age saved him from the whipping-post. He went to Acamecticus, and there died a year or two after.

failed of success, and an order was made in council 19th of January 1632, "declaring the fair appearances and great hopes
" which there then were, that the country would prove beneficial to the kingdom, as well as profitable to the particular persons concerned; and that the adventurers might be
" assured, that if things should be carried on as was pretended when the patents were granted and according as by the
" patent is appointed, his Majesty would not only maintain the liberties and privileges heretofore granted, but supply
" any thing further which might tend to the good government, prosperity and comfort of the people there." †

IN the year 1633, the people still continued the administration of government in the same hands. Fresh supplies of inhabitants had been brought from England, from time to time, in the course of the two former years, but there were many who were willing to see the success of the first adventurers before they embarked themselves. The reports carried over were very encouraging, so that, this year, there was a very great addition made, ships arriving all summer, in some months twelve or fourteen in a month; an exportation so great and of such a sort of persons, that it produced the following order of the King in Council, 21st February 1633.

" WHEREAS the board is given to understand of the frequent transportation, of great numbers of his Majesty's subjects out of this kingdom, to the plantation of New-England, among whom divers persons known to be ill affected, discontented not only with civil but ecclesiastical government here, are observed to resort thither, whereby such confusion and distraction is already grown there, especially
" in point of religion, as, beside the ruin of the said plantation, cannot but highly tend to the scandal both of church and state here. And whereas it was informed in particular, that there are, at this present, divers ships, in the river

" of

† Hubbard.

“ of Thames, ready to set sail thither, freighted with passengers and provisions ; it is thought fit and ordered, that they should be forthwith made of the said ships until further order from this board. And the several masters and freighters of the same should attend the board, on Wednesday next in the afternoon, with a list of the passengers and provisions in each ship. And that Mr. Cradock, a chief adventurer in that plantation now present before the board, should be required to cause the letters patent for the said plantation to be brought to this board.” §

Mr. Hubbard says, that this order was the effect of a new complaint preferred by Gardiner, Morton and others, of their hardships and sufferings from the severity of the government, and that such of the company as were in England were called before the committee of council, and delivered an answer in writing, and that, upon reading thereof, it pleased God so to work with the Lords of the council, and afterwards with the King's Majesty, that when the whole matter was reported to him by Sir Thomas Jernayne (one of the council who had been present at the three days of hearing, and spake much in commendation of the governor, both to the Lords and after to his Majesty) the King said, he would have such severely punished as should abuse his governor and the plantation, and the defendants were dismissed, with a favourable order for their encouragement ; being assured, from some of the council, that his Majesty did not intend to impose the ceremonies of the church of England upon them, for that it was considered, it was for the sake of freedom from those things that people went over thither. It is certain, a stop was not put to the emigration. There came over, amongst many others in this year 1633, Haynes of the civil order, Mr. Cotton, ¶ Mr Hooker, and

§ Hubbard.

¶ Mr. Cotton's removal was hastenend by letters missive, which were out against him to convent him before the high commission court for nonconformity.

and Mr. Stone, three of the most famous men of the religious order. Mr. Cotton is supposed to have been more instrumental, in the settlement of their civil as well as ecclesiastical polity, than any other person : The church of Boston, by advice of the governor and council and of the elders in the colony, received him for their teacher ; to which office he was ordained the 17th October. Mr. Thomas Leverett, an ancient member of Mr. Cotton's church in England, was at the same time ordained a ruling elder. The circumstances and order of proceeding, in Mr. Cotton's ordination, were intended as a precedent, and the congregational churches in New-England have generally conformed thereto ever since. Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone, with their friends, settled at Newtown (Cambridge*.)

F

His friends advised him to keep close, until he had an opportunity of embarking.
MS. letter Sam. Whiting.

* In the year 1633, the small pox made terrible havock among the Indians of Massachusetts. Whether or no their food and irregular diet furnishes greater quantities of the morbid matter, than in more temperate persons, I leave to physicians. They were destitute of every thing, proper for comfort and relief, and died in greater proportion than is known among the English. John Sagamore of Winefimet, and James of Lynn, with almost all their people, died of the distemper. All writers agree, that, a few years before the English came to New-Plymouth, a mortal contagious distemper swept away great numbers of Indians, so that some tribes were in a manner extinct ; the Massachusetts particularly, are said by some to have been reduced from thirty thousand to three hundred fighting men. The small pox proving since so fatal to Indians, caused some to suppose that to have been the distemper, but the Indians themselves always gave a very different account, and, by their description, it was a pestilential putrid fever. In one of the voyages, collected by Purchas, it is said to have been the plague, and that some of the Indians which recovered shewed the scars of the boil. An instance of mortality among the Indians of Nantucket, in the year 1763, strengthens the probability of their account of the distemper itself and of the amazing effects of it.

In the beginning of October there were belonging to the island of Nantucket about 320 Indians, of every age and sex, in 90 families. A fever then began among them and, before the end of January, between 260 and 270 persons had been seized with it, of which number 6 men and 9 women only recovered, and but 15 families and about
eighty-five

In the year 1634, they thought proper to give their governor some respite, Mr. Dudley being chosen in his stead, and Roger Ludlow deputy governor.

Mr. Haynes who had lately come over, was chosen to the place of assistant. The governor and assistants kept the powers of government, both legislative and executive, very much in their hands the three first years. The people began to grow uneasy, and the number of freemen being greatly multiplied, an alteration of the constitution seems to have been agreed upon or fallen into by a general consent of the towns; for at a general court for elections in 1634, twenty-four of the principal inhabitants appeared as the representatives of the body of freemen, and, before they proceeded to the election of magistrates, the people asserted their right to a greater share in the government than had hitherto been allowed them, and resolved, "That none but the general court had power to make and establish laws, or to elect and appoint

eighty-five souls remained, 15 of which had wintered in the straits of Belleisle and escaped the distemper. A physician of note supposed this mortality to be occasioned by a dearth among the Indians the two preceding years, so that they had but little corn or any other farinaceous food, and this year had been some months without, which caused them to fall upon their pompions, squashes, &c. before they were ripe; and this food brought their blood into a putrid and broken state. It is remarkable, that the English inhabitants were free from the distemper, and not one person died of it. The infection was supposed, by some, to be taken from an Irish brigantine; but Mr. Timothy Folger, a sensible gentleman of the island, from whom I received the foregoing account, assured me there was no room to suppose so, or that it came from abroad.

Our ancestors supposed an immediate interposition of providence in the great mortality among the Indians, to make room for the settlement of the English. I am not inclined to credulity, but should not we go into the contrary extreme if we were to take no notice of the extinction of this people in all parts of the continent? In some, the English have made use of means the most likely to have prevented it, but all to no purpose. Notwithstanding their frequent raptures with the English, very few comparatively have perished by wars. They waste, they moulder away, and, as Charlevoix says of the Indians of Canada, they disappear.

appoint officers, as governor, deputy governor, assistants, treasurer, secretary, captains, lieutenants, ensigns, or any of like moment, or to remove such upon misdemeanour, or to set out the duties and powers of these officers——That none but the general court hath power to raise monies and taxes, and to dispose of lands, viz. to give and confirm proprieties.” After these resolutions, they proceeded to the election of magistrates, Then they further determined, “ That there shall be four general courts held yearly, to be summoned by the governor for the time being, and not to be dissolved without the consent of the major part of the court——That it shall be lawful for the freemen of each plantation to chuse two or three before every general court, to confer of and prepare such business as by them shall be thought fit to consider of at the next court ; and that such persons, as shall be hereafter so deputed by the freemen of the several plantations to deal in their behalf in the affairs of the common-wealth, shall have the full power and voices of all the said freemen derived to them for the making and establishing of laws, granting of lands, &c. and to deal in all other affairs of the common wealth, wherein the freemen have to do, the matter of the election of magistrates and other officers only excepted, wherein every freeman is to give his own voice.”—And, to show their resentment, they imposed a fine upon the court of assistants for going contrary to an order of the general court.*

The freemen were so increased, that it was impracticable to debate and determine matters in a body, it was besides unsafe, on account of the Indians, and prejudicial to their private affairs, to be so long absent from their families and business ; so that this representative body was a thing of necessity, but no provision had been made for it in their charter.

* Mass. Records.

THUS

THUS they settled the legislative body, which, except an alteration of the number of general courts which were soon reduced to two only in a year, and other not very material circumstances, continued the same as long as the charter lasted. This I suppose was the second house of representatives in any of the colonies. There was, as has been observed, no express provision for it in the charter, they supposed the natural rights of Englishmen, reserved to them, implied it. In Virginia, a house of burgesses met first in May 1620. The government in every colony, like that of the colonies of old Rome, may be considered as the *effigies parva* of the mother state.

THERE was great disturbance in the colony this year, occasioned by Roger Williams, minister of Salem. He had been three or four years at Plimouth, and for some time was esteemed, but at length advanced divers singular opinions, in which he did not meet with a concurrence, whereupon he desired a dismission to the church of Salem, which was granted him. That church had invited him, upon his first coming to New-England; but the governor and council interposed with their advice, and prevented his settlement at that time. He had refused to join in communion with the church at Boston because they would not make a public declaration of their repentance for holding communion with the church of England whilst they lived there. He was charged with divers exceptionable tenets, as "that it is not lawful for a godly man to have communion, in family prayer or in an oath, with such as they judge unregenerate, and therefore he refused the oath of fidelity and taught others so to do—that it is not for an unregenerate man to pray—that the magistrate has nothing to do in matters of the first table;" another tenet is added,

added, which ought not to have been ranked with the former, viz. "that to punish a man for any matters of his conscience is persecution *." The magistrates sent a second time to the church of Salem to desire them to forbear calling him to office, but they refused to hearken to their advice, and proceeded to ordain him, Mr. Skelton, their former minister, dying a little before. Mr. Williams caused the church of Salem to send their letters of admonition to the church at Boston, and to several other churches, accusing the magistrates, which were members of them, of divers heinous offences, would admit no church to be pure but the church of Salem; but at length, because the members of that church would not separate not only from all the churches in Old England, but from all in New-England also, he separated from them; and, to make compleat work of it, he separated from his own wife, and would neither ask a blessing nor give thanks at his meals if his wife was present, because she attended the public worship in the church of Salem†. But what gave just occasion to the civil power to interpose, was his influencing Mr. Endicott, one of the magistrates and a member of his church, to cut the crosses out of the King's colours, as being a relique of anti-christian superstition‡. A writer of the history of those times questions whether his zeal would have carried him so far as to refuse to receive the King's coin because of the crosses upon it. Endeavours were used to reclaim him, but to no purpose, and at length he was banished the jurisdiction. He removed to the southward, to look out for a new settlement among

* Hubbard.

† Hubbard.

‡ Many of the militia refused to train with the mangled defaced colours. This scruple afterwards prevailed, and the cross was left out of the colours, and generally condemned as unlawful.

among the Indians, and fixed upon a place called by them Moshawick but by him Providence*. After all that has been said of the actions or tenets of this person while he was in the Massachusetts, it ought forever to be remembered to his honour, that, for forty years after, instead of shewing any revengeful resentment against the colony from which he had been banished, he seems to have been continually employed in acts of kindness and benevolence, giving them notice, from time to time, not only of every motion of the Indians over whom he had very great influence, but also of the unjust designs of the English within the new colony, of which he himself had been the founder and governor, and continued the patron†.

MR.

* The inhabitants have a veneration for a spring which runs from the hill into the river above the great bridge. The sight of this spring caused him to stop his canoe and land there.

† Mr. Calender, in his century sermon at Rhode-Island, questions Mr. Williams's ever professing himself a baptist : But Mr. Hubbard says, he was rebaptized at Providence by one Holman, and that Mr. Williams in return baptized him and ten more, but afterwards renounced this baptism, not being able to derive the authority of it from the apostles but through the ministers of the church of England, whom he judged to be antichristian. He refused communion with all christians of every profession, and conceived that God would raise up new apostles, and expected to be one himself, but afterwards changed from these principles, and would preach and pray with all that would hear him without any distinction. In the year 1677, he published a defence of some fundamental doctrines of christianity against the quakers. In 1643 he went to England, and, by the interest of Sir Henry Vane, obtained from the Earl of Warwick a charter of incorporation of Providence plantation in Narraganset-bay. He seems to have been well respected in England. He brought a letter to the governor of Massachusetts-bay, of which the following is a copy.

To the right worshipful the governor and assistants and the rest of our worthy friends in the plantations of Massachusetts-bay.

Our much honoured friends,

TAKING notice, some of us, of long time, of Mr. Roger Williams his good affections and conscience, and of his sufferings by our common enemy and oppressors of God's people the prelates ; as also of his great industry and travels in his printed Indian labours in your parts (the like whereof we have not seen extant from any part of America

Mr. Endicot was sentenced by the court “ for his rashness, uncharitableness, indiscretion, and exceeding the limits of his commission, to be sadly admonished, and also disabled for bearing any office in the common-wealth for the space of a year next ensuing.” He protested against the proceedings of the court, and an order passed for his commitment, but upon his submission he was dismissed.

Mr. Winthrop’s conduct had been such, from his first associating with the company in England until his being dropped this year from his place of governor, that unless the ostracism of the ancient Greeks had been revived in this new common-wealth, it was reasonable to expect that he should be out of all danger of so much as the least thought to his prejudice, and yet he had a little taste of what, in many other popular governments, their greatest benefactors have taken a large portion.

America) and in which respect it hath pleased both houses of parliament to grant unto him and friends with him a free and absolute charter of civil government for those parts of his abode, and withal sorrowfully repenting, that amongst good men (our friends, driven to the ends of the world, exercised with the trials of a wilderness, and who mutually give good testimony each of the other (as we observe you do of him and he abundantly of you) there should be such a distance. We thought it fit, upon divers considerations, to profess our great desires of both your utmost endeavours of nearer closing and of ready expressing those good affections (which we perceive you bear each to other) in the actual performance of all friendly offices. The rather because of those bad neighbours you are likely to find too too near you in Virginia, and the unfriendly visits from the West of England and from Ireland. That howsoever it may please the most high to shake our foundations, yet the report of your peaceable and prosperous plantations may be some refreshings to

Your true and faithful friends

Col. Holland	Oliver St. John	Northumberland
John Blackistow	Gilbert Pickering	P. Wharton
Isaac Pennington	Robert Harley	Tho. Barrington
Miles Corbet	John Gurdon	William Masham

This letter produced a profession of readiness to all offices of christian love and mutual correspondence ; but, unless he could be brought to lay down his dangerous principles of separation, they saw no reason why to concede to him, or any so persuaded, freeliberty of ingress and egress, lest the people should be drawn away with such erroneous opinions. He died in 1682, forty-eight years after his banishment.

potion. After he was out of the chair, he was questioned in such a manner, as appears to have been disagreeable to him, concerning his receipts and disbursements for the public during his administration. Having discharged himself with great honour, he concludes his declaration and account in these words* :

“ In all these things, which I offer, I refer myself to the
 “ wisdom and justice of the court, with this protestation, that
 “ it repenteth me not of my cost or labour bestowed in the
 “ service of this common-wealth, but do heartily bless the
 “ Lord our God, that he hath pleased to honour me so far,
 “ as to call for any thing he hath bestowed upon me for the
 “ service of his church and people here, the prosperity where-
 “ of and his gracious acceptance shall be an abundant recom-
 “ pence to me.

“ I conclude with this one request (which in justice may
 “ not be denied me) that as it stands upon record,
 “ that upon the discharge of my office I was called
 “ to account, so this my declaration may be recorded also,
 “ lest hereafter, when I shall be forgotten, some blemish
 “ may lye upon my posterity, when there shall be nothing to
 “ clear it.

Sept. 4, 1634†.

JOHN WINTHROP.”

In

* He might have torn his books of accounts, as Scipio Africanus did, and given the ungrateful populace this answer. A colony, now in a flourishing estate, has been led out and settled under my direction. My own substance is consumed. Spend no more time in harangues, but give thanks to God.

† Mr. Winthrop, about this time, received a letter from the Earl of Warwick, congratulating the success of the plantation, and offering his assistance in their proceedings. Hubbard.

In the year 1635*, there was a great addition made to the number of inhabitants ; among others Mr. Vane, afterwards Sir Henry Vane, was admitted to the freedom of the colony on the 3d of March ; and at the same time Mr. Harlakenden, a gentleman of good family and estate. There were many others, as Mr. Billingham, Mr. Dummer, of the magistrates ; Mr. R. Mather, Mr. Norton, Mr. Shepard, and Mr. Peters, of the ministers, who came over in this and the last year, determined to take up their abode, and many other persons of figure and distinction were expected to come over, some of which are said to have been prevented by express order of the King, as Mr. Pym, Mr. Hamden, Sir Arthur Haslerigg, Oliver Cromwell, &c. I know this is questioned by some authors, but it appears plainly by a letter from Lord Say and Seal to Mr. Vane, and a letter from Mr. Cotton to the same nobleman, as I take it, though his name is not mentioned, and an answer to certain demands made by him, that his lordship himself and Lord Broke and others were not without thoughts of removing to New-England, and that several other persons of quality were in treaty about their removal also, but undetermined whether to join the Massachusetts or to settle a new colony. By the charter, the number of assistants might be eighteen, but hitherto they had chosen a less number from 6 to 9, which left room, as any gentleman of distinction came over

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to

* Mr. Maverick, the minister of Dorchester, died the third of February 1635, aged about 60. Hubbard.

In the spring of 1634, they first turned their thoughts to fortifying the harbour of Boston. Mr. Winthrop, the governor, and eight or ten of the principal men, went down to what is now called Castle-Island in a boat, the day being warm and pleasant, the winter as they supposed breaking up, but they were surpris'd by a north-wester, and the cold so great as to freeze all up, so as that for a day and a night they could not get off the island, and were forced to lodge upon the ground and in heaps to prevent freezing. Johnson.

to admit him to a share in the government without leaving out any of the former assistants.

It appears, by the demands just mentioned, that some of the nobility and principal commoners of that day had, what appears at this day to be very strange, apprehensions of the relation they should stand in to Great-Britain, after their removal to America. Many of the proposals were such, as imply that they thought themselves at full liberty, without any charter from the crown, to establish such sort of government as they thought proper, and to form a new state as fully to all intents and purposes as if they had been in a state of nature, and were making their first entrance into civil society. The importance of the colonies to the nation was not fully understood and considered. Perhaps the party, which then prevailed in England, would have been content to have been rid of the heads of what was deemed a faction in the government, and to have had no further connection with them. Be that as it may, this sentiment, in persons of such figure and distinction, will in a great measure excuse the same mistake which will appear to have been made by our first settlers, in many instances in the course of our history. The answer made to the demands seems not to have been satisfactory, for these lords and gentlemen, soon after, again turned their thoughts to Connecticut; where they were expected to arrive every year, until after 1640*.

Mr. Haynes was chosen governor for this year, and Mr. Bellingham deputy governor; Mr. Dummer and Mr. Haugh were added to the assistants†. The inhabitants of the plantation

* See the Appendix.

† Mr. Ludlow aiming at the governor's place the year before, and being disappointed had,

tation, being so much increased, found it difficult to pitch upon convenient places for settlements. Mr. Hooker and Mr. Cotton were deservedly in high esteem; some of the principal persons were strongly attached to the one of them, and some to the other. The great influence, which Mr. Cotton had in the colony, inclined Mr. Hooker and his friends to remove to some place more remote from Boston than Newtown. Besides, they alledged, as a reason for their removal, that they were straitened for room, and thereupon viewed divers places on the sea-coast, but were not satisfied with them. Three or four persons, had, some time before,* travelled westward into the country an hundred miles upon discovery, until they struck a great river, which afterwards they found to be Connecticut or the fresh river where there were many spots of interval land, and land in other respects to be desired for settlement. The Dutch at the Manhados had some knowledge of this place, and had given intimations of it to the people of new Plimouth with whom they had commerce, but Plimouth government kept their intelligence secret†. A letter from Mr. Winslow of New-Plimouth, Sept. 26, 1633, mentions their having been up the river. They forbade the Dutch making any settlements there, and set up a trading house themselves‡. The governor of the Massachusetts also,

this

had protested against the choice; which so offended the freemen, that this year they left him out of the magistracy. He removed soon after to Connecticut.

* In the year 1633. These were John Oldham before-mentioned, Samuel Hall and others. Hubbard.

† The commissioners of the united colonies, in a declaration against the Dutch in 1653, say, that "Mr. Winslow, one of the commissioners for Plimouth, discovered the "fresh river when the Dutch had neither trading house nor any pretence to a foot of "land there."

‡ Hubbard.

this year 1635, sent a bark round the cape to the Dutch governor to acquaint him that the King had granted the river and country of Connecticut to his own subjects, and desired him to forbear building any where thereabouts. This river Mr. Hooker and his friends pitched upon as the most likely place to accomodate them. The latter end of the last year (1634) they intended to remove, and applied to the court for leave*. Of 21 members of the lower house, 15 were for their removal; but of the magistrates, the governor and two assistants only were for it, the deputy governor Mr. Winthrop and the rest of the assistants against it; but still, as the lower house was so much more numerous than the upper, the major part of the whole court was for it. This division was the occasion of first starting the question about the negative voice. The deputies or representatives insisted that the voice of a major part of the assistants was not necessary. The assistants refused to give up their right, and the business was at a stand. The whole court agreed to keep a day of humiliation and prayer, to seek the divine direction in all the congregations in the colony, and to meet again the next week after. At the opening of the court, Mr. Cotton preached from Hag. II. 4. "Yet now be strong O Zerubbabel, saith the Lord, and be strong O Joshua the son of Josedech the high priest, and be strong all ye people of the land, saith the Lord, and work, for I am with you, saith the Lord of hosts." His sermon was as pertinent to the occasion as his text, and prevailed upon the deputies to give up the point at that time†. Here was a crisis, when the

* It was the general sense of the inhabitants, that they were all mutually bound to one another by the oath of a freeman as well as the original compact, so as not to be at liberty to separate without the consent of the whole.

† Hubbard.

the patricians, if I may so stile them, were in danger of losing great part of their weight in the government. It may seem a matter of less consequence than it would have been, if the office of assistant had by charter been hereditary or even for life; but the assistants, aided by the elders who had great influence with the people, were in a good measure secure of their places. It was by the same aid that they now carried the point against the plebeians. There was no occasion for prodigies or other arts of the priests of old Rome. A judicious discourse from a well chosen text was more rational, and had a more lasting effect.

There were some circumstances very discouraging; particularly the neighbourhood of the Dutch on the one side, and some intelligence received of the designs of the Pequod* Indians on the other, and of their having killed Capt. Stone and his company as he was going up the river; but they could not be satisfied until they had accomplished their intentions and obtained the leave of the court.

They met with a new company, which arrived this year, who purchased their estates and settled at Newtown in their stead, with Mr. Shepard for their minister. They did not take their departure until June the next year, and then about an hundred persons in the first company, some of them had lived in splendour and delicacy in England, set out on foot to travel an hundred and twenty or thirty miles with their wives and children, near a fortnight's journey, having no pillars but
Jacob's,

* I suppose the chief country of the Pequods to be at or near the mouth of the river at Stonington, towards New-London, which is situated at the mouth of what was properly Pequod river. The chief Sachem was called Tatobam, a very stout fellow. Tatobam hated the English, and was ever moving the other Indians to join with him against them. Wins. ans. to Gorton.

Jacob's, and no canopy but the heavens, a wilderness to go through without the least cultivation, in most places no path nor any marks to guide them, depending upon the compass to steer by, many hideous swamps and very high mountains, beside five or six rivers or different parts of the same winding river (the Chickapi) not every where fordable, which they could not avoid. The greatest part of the lands, they were going to, were evidently without the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts; nevertheless they took a commission from the authority of that colony to govern in Connecticut. There are other instances, which shew that they supposed they retained some authority over their inhabitants, even when out of the limits of the colony*.

The Plimouth people, notwithstanding the French piracy in 1632, kept possession of their house at Penobscot, and carried on trade with the Indians; but in 1635, Rossillon, commander of a French fort at La Have upon the Nova-Scotia shore, sent a French man of war to Penobscot, which took possession of the trading house and all the goods. The French gave their bills for the goods, and sent away all the men.

The

* They were reduced to great extremity, the first winter; their provisions being detained at the river's mouth, by the severity of the weather, the stream being frozen all the way. Some scattered down towards the mouth of the river, others ventured through the woods back to the Bay, one or two of whom perished. A few only remained to look after the cattle, many of which were lost. Hubbard.

Several authors, and Douglass among the rest, suppose this settlement to have been begun by the more rigid brethren who separated from the rest. I question whether they had any grounds for their supposition. The peculiar tenets of Mr. Vane and Mrs. Hutchinson did not prevail until 1636. Mr. Hooker opposed them. "A copy of Mr. Vane's expressions at Roxbury, I desire to see and receive by the next messenger. I have heard my brother Eliot is come about to this opinion; I have writ to him about it. I would fain come to a bandy, where I might be a little rude in the business, for I do as verily believe it to be false, as I do believe any article of my faith to be true." Hooker to Shepard.

The commander wrote to the governor of Plimouth, that he had orders to displace all the English as far as Pemaquid, but to those westward he would shew all courtesy. The Plimouth government, who supposed they had good right to the place, were not willing to put up the injury quietly, and hired a large ship of some force, the *Hope* of Ipswich in England, — Girling, commander, to displace the French. Girling was to have two hundred pounds if he effected it. A barque with 20 men was sent with him as a tender. But the French, having notice of the design, fortified the place, and Girling having near spent his ammunition, sent the barque to the Massachusetts for aid. Two persons came from Plimouth also to treat about it, and the court agreed to assist their neighbours by a subscription among themselves; but provision was so scarce, that there could not sufficient be had, suddenly, to fit out an expedition of an hundred men only; so the matter was deferred to a further time, and Girling returned, leaving the French in possession, which they continued until 1654.

The situation the colony was in at this time must have given them a threatening prospect; the French on their borders on one side, the Dutch on the other, the Indians in the midst restrained only by want of union among themselves from breaking up all settlements, they being utterly defenceless.

This year Mr. Winthrop, jun. returned from England, whither he had gone the year before, and brought a commission,* from the Lord Say and Seal, and Lord Brook, and others to be their governor of their plantation at Connecticut. A fort was built at the mouth of the river, known by the name of

* How can we account for it that they should imagine they had a right to settle colonies and establish what form of government they pleased? ten years after, it might well enough be supposed, but this was several years before the confusions in England began.

of Saybrook fort. He brought also a number of men with arms, ammunition and stores, and two thousand pounds in money to bring forward a settlement. This commission interfered with the intended settlements by the Massachusetts; notwithstanding that, as a number of the inhabitants of Watertown had possessed themselves of a fine piece of meadow at Weathersfield below Hartford where Mr. Hooker and his company settled, the agents for the Lords, being well disposed to promote the general good, permitted these settlers quietly to enjoy their possessions. The fortress below struck terror into the Indians, and quieted the minds of the English. Plymouth was dissatisfied with being thus supplanted by the Massachusetts (the Dorchester men as I suppose having pitched upon the spot where Plymouth had built a trading house, and, as they alledged, had purchased the lands of the Indians) and demanded an hundred pounds or part of the land. There was great danger of a warm contention between the two colonies, but at length the Dorchester men made such offers of satisfaction that Plymouth accepted them. The Dutch also sent home to Holland for instructions, intending to maintain their claim to the river or the place where they had possession, but upon a treaty afterwards with the commissioners of the united colonies, they quitted all claim to all parts of the river, resigning it up to the English.*

Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. Mason, having been at more expence and taken more pains than any other members of the grand council of Plymouth, and perceiving no prospect of any equivalent return, and fearing from the great clamour in the nation against monopolies, that they should e'er long be forced to resign up their grand charter, they entered this year upon

* Hubbard.

upon a new project, viz. to procure a general governor for the whole country of New-England to be forthwith sent over, and because the Massachusetts charter stood in their way they endeavoured a revocation of it, that so the whole from St. Croix to Maryland might be brought under the same form of government. The settlement of the Dutch at Manhados, which lay within those limits, both then and at all other times was considered by the English court as an intrusion as indeed it was. * In June, letters were received from Lord Say, advising that petitions had been preferred to the King and to the Lords of the council, by the Duke of Lenox, Marquis of Hamilton and divers other noblemen, together with

H

Sir

* In 1609 Henry Hudson an Englishman, from some misunderstanding between the East-India company and him, engaged in the Dutch service. On his return from the straits and bay which bear his name, he made the first discovery of Hudson's river and went up as far as Aurania (Albany) or near to it. The Dutch, a few years after, built a small house or fort there for the sake of trade, pretending no title to the country. It has been observed, that the English who came to New Plimouth intended in 1620 to have settled there. Neglected by the English court, the Dutch began a settlement soon after. It has been sometimes urged, that the line of the Massachusetts charter which extends to the South Sea or until it meets the settlements of some other christian prince or state, was so expressed, from a particular regard to this Dutch settlement, and that a line to extend

to

Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. Mason, but conceived to be the project of Sir F. Gorges only. That, to the Lords, was as follows, viz.

“ May it please your Lordships,

“ WHEREAS it pleased your Lordships to give
 “ orders to Sir Ferdinando Gorges to confer with
 “ such as were chiefly interested in the planta-
 “ tion of New-England, to resolve whether they
 “ would resign wholly to his Majesty the patent
 “ of New-England, and to leave to his Majesty
 “ and his council the sole management of the
 “ public affairs, with reservation of every man’s
 “ right formerly granted ; or whether they
 “ would stand to the said patent, and prosecute
 “ the business among themselves, and have the
 “ said patent renewed, with the reformation or
 “ addition

to the Spanish settlements was too extravagant to have been intended ; but the Dutch were never allowed by the English to have any title to the country, and at the time of granting the charter, there were only a few stragglers there. Cromwell and the parliament before him considered them as intruders, and blamed the English colonies that they had not extirpated them. The geography of this part of America was less understood than it is at present. A line to the Spanish settlements was imagined to be much shorter than it really was. Some of Champlain’s people, in the beginning of the last century, who had been but a few days on a march from Quebeck, returned with great joy, supposing that from the top of a high mountain they had discovered the South-Sea.

“ addition of such things as should be found ex-
 “ pedient. We whose names are hereunder-
 “ written, being interested in that business, do
 “ humbly submit to his Majesty’s pleasure to do
 “ therewith as he pleaseth. But wthal we hum-
 “ bly desire, that, upon our resignation of our
 “ said patent, his Majesty being to dispose of the
 “ whole country severally and immediately from
 “ himself, those divisions upon the sea-coast,
 “ that are hereunder designed, may be instantly
 “ confirmed and bestowed by new grants from
 “ his Majesty unto us, to be holden of his Majesty,
 “ paying the fifth part, &c. and with the privi-
 “ lege of the said patent and such further royal-
 “ ties as the Lord of Baltimore hath in his patent
 “ for the country of Maryland ; saving only, that
 “ we should submit ourselves to the general go-
 “ vernor now presently to be established by his
 “ Majesty for the whole country, and after his
 “ discease or other determination of his office,
 “ that then, from the Lords of his province, there
 “ may be an election of three by lot, which said
 “ three persons so elected shall be presented to
 “ the King, that out of the number, one may be
 “ chosen by his Majesty to succeed in the place
 “ of the general governor, who shall, in person,
 “ or by his sufficient deputy, reside in the coun-
 “ try during the space of three years only, and so
 “ from three years to three years another gover-
 “ nor to be chosen successively, and the old go-
 “ vernor to be left out of the lot of choice.”

THE proposed divisions of the twelve provinces were as follows : The first, was from St. Croix to Pemaquid ; the second, from Pemaquid to Sagadahock ; the third, contained the land between the rivers Amarascoggin and Kennebeck ; the fourth, along the sea-coast from Sagadahock to Piscataqua ; the fifth, from Piscataqua to Naumkeak ; the sixth, from Naumkeak, round the sea-coast by Cape Cod, to Naraganset ; the seventh, from Naraganset to the half-way bound betwixt that and Connecticut river, and so fifty miles up into the country ; the eighth, from the half-way bound to Connecticut river, and so fifty miles into the country ; the ninth, from Connecticut river along the sea-coast to Hudson's river, and so up thirty miles ; the tenth, from the thirty miles end to cross up forty miles eastward ; the eleventh, from the west side of Hudson's river thirty miles up the country towards the 40th degree, where New-England beginneth ; the twelfth, from the end of the 30 miles up the said river, northward thirty miles further, and from thence to cross into the land forty miles. And out of every one of these provinces was 5000 acres to be granted to certain persons there named, in lieu of some former grants made to each of them in those divisions which they were now to surrender, and to hold to each man his 5000 acres in fee of the Lord of the province. And the Lord of every one of those twelve provinces was to send the same year ten men, with the general governor, well provided. To all which was added,

“ IT

"It is humbly desired that your Lordships would be pleased to order these things following :

1. THAT the patent for the plantation of the Massachusetts-Bay may be revoked, and that all those who have any other grants within any of the provinces, whether they have planted or not upon any part of the same, yet they shall enjoy their lands, laying down their jura regalia, if they had any, and paying some reasonable acknowledgement as freeholders to the Lord of the province of whom they are now to take new grants of their said lands ; and in case any of their lands shall be found, having exorbitant bounds, to have been unlawfully obtained, they shall be reduced to a lesser proportion, as may be fit for the grantor who is undertaker, under the direction of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. And if the grantee shall be any ways refractory, and refuse to surrender and hold anew of the said Lord of the province, that then your Lordships will take order by such course, as law will permit, to make void the same.

2. THAT every river, which parts two provinces, shall equally belong half way over to the provinces they lie contiguous unto.

3. THAT the islands upon the sea-coast, or within the river of any province being not here named, shall belong to the province they lie nearest unto,

4. THAT

THE HISTORY OF

4. THAT there is offered to your Lordships consideration the building of a city for the seat of the governor ; unto which city forty thousand acres of land may be allotted besides the divisions above mentioned. And that every one, who is to have any of these provinces, shall be at the charge of sending over with the governor ten men, towards the building of the said city, wherein every such adventurer shall not only have his share of the trade and buildings, but also shall have all other fruit of the ten men's labour sent as aforesaid.

MOREOVER, there is humbly dedicated, to the foundation of a church in the said city and maintenance of clergymen to serve in the said church, 10,000 acres of land near adjoining to the said city."

THE petition to the King was of this form :

" May it please your Majesty,

" It is humbly desired by the Duke of Lenox,
" &c. ancient patentees and adventurers in the
" plantation of New-England, that forasmuch as
" they are now presently to join in the surrender to your Majesty of the grand patent of their
" corporation, that your royal Majesty will be
" graciously inclined to give order to your attorney general, to draw several patents of such
" parcels of land as by their mutual consent have
" been allotted to them, and to have the same
" patents prepared fit for your royal signature,
" with such titles, privileges and immunities as
" have

" have been heretofore granted, either to them
 " or to any other by your Majesty or by your late
 " royal father King James of blessed memory,
 " with reservations of appeal to the governor
 " or lieutenant of the territories, in cases rea-
 " sonable ; that they, knowing their own in-
 " terest, may be the better able to plant and go-
 " vern them to your Majesty's honor, their par-
 " ticular profit, and their people's civil govern-
 " ment and faithful obedience to the laws of your
 " sacred Majesty *."

April 6, 1635.

A COPY of some grant or agreement concerning
 one of the provinces to Capt. Mason was sent over
 signed Lenox, Hamilton, Arundel and Surry, Car-
 lisle, Stirling, Edward Gorges, Ferd. Gorges. At-
 tested by Thomas Maydwell, Not. Pub. It has
 been said, that the Marquis of Hamilton and the
 Earl of Stirling both, obtained the like instru-
 ments, and it is possible all the others might al-
 so. It is not material, at this day, whether they
 did or not. It is certain, that above an hundred
 years are past, and no possession taken, or improv-
 ements made by them or their assigns in conse-
 quence thereof; and all the territory is either
 included in other grants, some made before this
 surrender, by the council itself, and some made
 since by the crown, or has been purchased of the
 natives, which, if done *bona fide*, so far as respects
 the

* Gorges—Hubbard,

the property, has been thought by some to be the best title.*

IN the year 1636, Mr. Vane was chosen governor, Mr. Winthrop deputy governor, and Mr. Harlakenden, who came in the same ship with Mr. Vane, was added to the assistants. The people of the colony very early discovered that they were not without disposition to novelty and change. It was not merely out of policy to encourage others, that they took early notice of such as came over from year to year. Besides this motive, they were easily captivated with the appearance only of wisdom and piety, professions of a regard to liberty and of a strong attachment to the public interest. Mr. Haynes, who seemed to stand most in the way of Mr. Winthrop, had left the colony and was settled at Connecticut, and Mr. Winthrop would have had a good prospect of recovering his former share of the people's favour, if Mr. Vane's grave, solemn deportment, although he was not then above 24 or 25 years of age, had not engaged almost the whole colony in his favour.

There

* Mention is made by Hubbard of a storm, Aug. 15, 1635, which by his description was more violent than any that has ever happened since. Many houses were blown down, and many more uncovered, the Indian corn every where beat down to the ground so as not to rise again. The tide rose twenty feet perpendicular. At Narraganset, the Indians were obliged to betake themselves to the trees, and yet many of them were drowned, the tide of flood returning before the usual time for it.

There was a great friendship between Mr. Cotton and him, which seems to have continued to the last. * He had great respect shewn him at first. He took more state upon him than any governor had ever done before. When he went, either to court or to church, four serjeants walked before him with their halberts. His administration for several months met with great applause. Towards the end of the year, the people grew discontented. He perceived it, and grew weary of the government. Receiving letters from London in December, urging his return home, he first communicated them to the council, and then called the general court together to ask their consent to his quitting the administration. He declared to them the necessity of his departure, and such of the council, as had seen the letters, affirmed that the reasons were very urgent, but not fit to be imparted to the whole court. The court took time until the morning to consider, when one of the assistants lamenting the loss of such a governor in a time of such danger, both from French and Indians, the governor burst into tears and professed that howsoever the causes propounded for his departure did concern the utter ruin of his outward estate, yet he would rather have hazarded all than gone from them at such a time, if something else had not pressed him more,

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viz.

* A small house which he lived in, at the side of the hill above Queen-street, he gave to Mr. Cotton, who made an addition to it after Mr. Vane went away, and lived and died there.

viz. the inevitable danger of God's judgments, which he feared were coming upon them for the differences and dissensions which he saw among them, and the scandalous imputation brought upon himself, as if he should be the cause of all, and therefore he thought it was best for him to give place for a time. The court did not think fit to consent to his going for such reasons. He found he had gone too far, and recalled himself, professing that the reasons which concerned his own estate were sufficient to satisfy him, and therefore desired he might have leave; the other passage slipped from him out of passion, not judgment. Whereupon the court agreed that it was necessary to give way to his departure, and ordered another meeting of the general court to make choice of a governor and deputy governor *, and as it was in the midst of winter (15 December) the freemen had liberty to send their votes in writing, if they did not come in person. Some of the church of Boston, loth to part with the governor, met together and agreed that it was not necessary, for the reasons alledged, that the governor should depart, and sent some of their number to signify as much to the court. The governor pretended to be overpowered, and expressed himself to be such an obedient son of the church, that notwithstanding the licence of the court, yet without the consent of the church he durst not go away. A great part of the people,

* In case the deputy should be chose governor as was expected.

ple, who were informed of this transaction, declared their purpose still to continue him ; and it was thought adviseable, when the day appointed for election came, to adjourn the court to May, the time of the annual choice. * Mr. Vane has been charged with as dark dissimulation, a few years after, in affairs of vastly greater importance ; particularly, in the manner of giving his testimony in the case of the Earl of Strafford.

THERE came over with Mr. Cotton, or about the same time, Mr. Hutchinson, and his family, who had lived at Alford in the neighbourhood of Boston. Mr. Hutchinson had a good estate and was of good reputation. His wife, as Mr. Cotton says, " was well beloved, and all the faithful embraced her conference and blessed God for her fruitful discourses †." After she came to New-England, she was treated with respect, and much notice was taken of her by Mr. Cotton and other principal persons, and particularly by Mr. Vane the governor. Her husband served in the general court, several elections, as a representative for Boston, until he was excused at the desire of the church ‡. So much respect seems to have increased her natural vanity. Countenanced and encouraged by Mr. Vane and Mr. Cotton, she advanced doctrines and opinions which involved the colony

* Mass. records—Hubbard.

† Answer to Bailey.

‡ Mr. William Hutchinson was discharged from assisting at the particular courts at the expence of the church.
Mass. Rec. Dec. 1636.

colony in disputes and contentions; and being improved, to civil as well as religious purposes, had like to have produced ruin both to church and state. The vigilance of some, of whom Mr. Winthrop was the chief, prevented, and turned the ruin from the country upon herself and many of her family and particular friends. Mr. Wheelwright, a zealous minister, of character for learning and piety, was her brother-in-law and firmly attached to her, and finally suffered with her. Besides the meetings for public worship on the Lord's day, the stated lecture every Thursday in Boston, and other occasional lectures in other towns, there were frequent private meetings of the brethren of the churches for religious exercises. Mrs. Hutchinson thought fit to set up a meeting of the sisters also, where she repeated the sermons preached the Lord's day before, adding her remarks and expositions. Her lectures made much noise, and sixty or eighty principal women attended them. At first, they were generally approved of. After some time, it appeared she had distinguished the ministers and members of churches through the country; a small part of them under a covenant of grace, the rest under a covenant of works. The whole colony was soon divided into two parties; and however distant one party was from the other in principle, they were still more so in affection. The two capital errors, with which she was charged, were these, "That the Holy Ghost dwells personally in a justified person; and that
nothing

nothing of sanctification can help to evidence to believers their justification." From these two, a great number of others were said to flow, which were enumerated and condemned at a synod held the next year. The ministers of the several parts of the country, alarmed with these things, came to Boston while the general court was sitting, and some time before the governor, Mr. Vane, asked his dismissal. They conferred with Mr. Cotton, and Mr. Wheelwright upon those two points. The last, they both disclaimed, so far as to acknowledge that sanctification did help to evidence justification; the other, they qualified, at least by other words; they held the indwelling of the person of the Holy Ghost, but not strictly a personal union, or as they express it, not a communicating of personal properties. The governor not only held with Mr. Cotton, but went further or was more express, and maintained a personal union. Mr. Winthrop, the deputy governor, denied both and Mr. Wilson, the other minister of Boston, and many of the ministers in the country, joined with him. A conference or disputation was determined on, which they agreed should be managed in writing, as most likely to tend to the peace of the church. When they could not find that the scriptures nor the primitive church, for the first 300 years, ever used the term, *prosopos*, or person, of the Holy Ghost, they generally thought it was best it should be forborn, as being of human invention. Upon the other question, Mr. Cotton in a sermon, the day the court met, had acknowledged

ledged that evident sanctification is a ground of justification, and went on to say, that in cases of spiritual desertion, true desire of sanctification was found to be sanctification, as divines usually held; and further, if a man was laid so flat upon the ground, as that he could see no desires, but only as a bruised reed did wait at the foot of Christ, yet here was matter of comfort, for this was found to be true sanctification in the root and principle of it. Mr. Vane and he both denied that any of these or any degree of sanctification could be evident without a concurrent sight of justification.* The town and country were distracted with these subtleties, and every man and woman who had brains enough to form some imperfect conceptions of them, inferred and maintained some other points, such as these; "A man is justified before he believes; faith is no cause of justification; and if faith be before justification, it is only a passive faith, an empty vessel, &c. and assurance is by immediate revelation only." The fear of God and love of our neighbour seemed to be laid by and out of the question. All the church of Boston, except four or five, joined with Mr. Cotton. Mr. Wilton, the other minister, and most of the ministers in the country, opposed him.

To increase the flame, Mr. Wheelwright preached a sermon (Jan. 19) in which, besides carrying antinomianism to the height, he made use of some expressions which were laid hold of by the court as tending to sedition; for which he

was

* Hubbard.

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was sent for and examined whilst Mr. Vane was in office, but a full enquiry and determination was suspended until a more convenient time.

WHILST these contentions were thus increasing within, the Pequods, the most warlike of all the Indians, were plotting destruction from without. After Stone and his company were murdered they sent messengers to Boston to make peace, pretending that the murder was committed by a few bad fellows who had fled to the Dutch. Their ambassadors were courteously treated, and the terms of peace were agreed on. In confidence of their fidelity, John Oldham, of whom mention has been made before, went in a small bark to trade with the Indians at Block Island. They murdered him, but spared two boys and two Naraganset Indians who were of his company. The murderers were discovered by the crew of a small vessel, one Gallop master from Connecticut, which happened to come upon them soon after the fact, Gallop had with him only one man and two boys, and no arms except two muskets and two pistols. Although the deck was full of Indians who had guns, swords, &c. yet, as they were then not much used to them, they made but little resistance, and when he boarded the vessel they jumped into the sea, and many of them were drowned. He found Oldham's body not cold, his brains beat out and his limbs hacked off. Block Island was under the Naraganset Indians, but they denied their having any concern in the murder. The
murderers

THE HISTORY OF

murderers were sheltered and protected by the Pequods, who at the same time surprized divers English in Connecticut river. These proceedings caused the Massachusetts to send fourscore men, by water, under Captain Endicot, who had instructions to offer peate to the Indians upon their delivering up the murderers; if they refused to do it, then to attack them. A great number of them entered into some sort of parley by a messenger and interpreter, keeping at a great distance themselves; but, as soon as they knew the terms, they fled into the woods. Winter was approaching, and Mr. Endicot thought it adviseable to return home in order to prepare for a more general attack the next summer. There were some severe reflections cast upon him for not pursuing the enemy at that time. The Pequods, in the winter, attempted an union with the Naragansets. There had been a fixed inveterate enmity between the two tribes, but on this occasion the Pequods were willing to smother it, their enmity against the English being the strongest of the two; and although they had never heard the story of Polypheme and Ulysses, yet they artfully urged that the English were come to dispossess them of their country, and that all the Naragansets could hope for from their friendship, was, the favour of being the last devoured; whereas, if the Indians would unite, they might easily destroy the English, or force them to leave the country, without being exposed themselves to any hazard. They need not come to open battles: Firing their houses,

killing

killing their cattle, and lying in wait for them as they went about their ordinary business, would soon deprive them of all means of subsisting. But the Naragansets * preferred the present pleasure of revenge upon their mortal enemies, to the future happiness of themselves and their posterity. † They are said to have wavered at first, but at length Myantinomo, their chief sachem, with 20 attendants went to Boston, where all the magistrates and ministers were called together to receive them, and a guard of 20 musketeers sent to Roxbury to attend them. They proposed to join in war against the Pequods, and that neither English nor Indians should make peace with them but utterly destroy them. The governor, for form sake, took time, until the next morning to give them an answer, and then the following articles were agreed to.

1. A FIRM and perpetual peace betwixt them and the English.

2. NEITHER party to make peace with the Pequods without the consent of the other.

3. THAT the Naragansets should not harbour any Pequods.

4. THAT they should put to death or deliver up
K any

* The Naraganset sachem, and Uncas, sachem of the Moheges, sent to the English and offered their service to join with them against the Pequods. *Winslow's answer to Gorton.*

† M. S. Journal.

any murderers of the English.

5. THAT they should return fugitive servants.

6. THE English to give them notice when to go out against the Pequods, and the Naragansets to furnish guides.

7. FREE trade to be carried on between the parties.

8. NONE of the Naragansets to come near the English plantation, during the war with the Pequods, without some Englishman or Indian known to the English.

CUSHAMAQUIN, a sachem of the Massachusetts Indians, also became a party to the treaty.

INDIAN fidelity is proverbial in New-England, as Punick was in Rome. The Naragansets are said to have kept to the treaty until the Pequods were destroyed, and then they grew insolent and treacherous.

TOWARDS the end of the year religious heats became more violent, and the civil affairs more sensibly affected by them. The people of Boston in general, were in favour of Mr. Vane the governor, the rest of the towns, in general, for Mr. Winthrop the deputy governor. At a sessions of the court in March, it was moved that the court of elections for 1637 should not be held in Boston, but in Newtown. (Cambridge) Nothing could be more mortifying to the governor, and as he could

not

not hinder the vote by a negative, he refused to put the question. Mr. Winthrop the deputy governor, as he lived in Boston, excused himself, and the court required Mr. Endicott one of the assistants to do it. It was carried for the removal.

THE more immediate occasion of the court's resentment against Boston, was a petition signed by a great number of the principal inhabitants of that town, together with some belonging to other towns, judging and condemning the court for their proceedings against Mr. Wheelwright. At this session, Mr. Vane the governor could not prevent a censure upon one Stephen Greensmith, for saying that all the ministers except Mr. Cotton, Mr. Wheelwright, and he thought Mr. Hooker preached a covenant of works. He was required to make an acknowledgment to the satisfaction of the magistrates and ministers, was fined forty pounds, &c. *

AT the opening the court of election for 1637, which was not done until one a clock. (May 17th) a petition was again offered, from many of the town of Boston, which the governor, Mr. Vane, would have had read, but Mr. Winthrop the deputy governor opposed it as being out of order: this being the day, by charter for elections, and the inhabitants all convened for that purpose, if other business was allowed to take up the time the elections would be prevented; after the

were

* Mass. Records,

were over, the petition might be read. The governor, and those of his party would not proceed unless the petition was read. The time being far spent, and many persons calling for election †, the deputy governor called to the people to divide, and the greater number should carry it; which was done, and the majority was for proceeding. Still the governor refused, until the deputy governor told him they would go on without him. This caused him to submit. Mr. Winthrop was chosen governor, Mr. Dudley deputy governor, Mr. Saltonstall, son of Sir Richard, and Mr. Stoughton new assistants; and Mr. Vane and his friends of the same persuasion, Dummer, Haugh and Coddington, left out of the magistracy. There was great danger of a violent tumult that day. The speeches on both sides were fierce, and they began to lay hands on one another, but the manifest majority, on one side, was a restraint to the other. † Boston waited the event of this election

* Mr. Wilson, the minister, in his zeal gat up upon the bough of a tree (it was hot weather, and the election, like that of parliament men for the counties in England, was carried on in the field) and there made a speech, advising the people to look to their charter and to consider the present work of the day, which was designed for the choosing the governor, deputy governor and the rest of the assistants for the government of the commonwealth. His speech was well received by the people, who presently called out, election, election, which turned the scale. *M. S. Life of J. Wilson.*

† Hubbard—Mass. Records.

tion of this election of magistrates, before they would chuse their representatives for the other business of the general court, and the next morning they chose Mr. Vane, the late governor, Mr. Coddington and Mr. Haugh. This election of Boston was immediately determined, by the court to be undue. The reason is not assigned in the record, but it is said, * this reason was given, that all the freemen were not notified. A warrant issued for a new choice, and Boston returned the same men again, and then they were not rejected. The serjeants, who used to attend Mr. Vane, laid down their halberds and went home as soon as the new governor was elected †, and they refused to attend him to and from the meetings on the Lord's day as had been usual. They pretended, this extraordinary respect was shewn to Mr. Vane as a person of quality. The court would have appointed others, but Mr. Winthrop took two of his own servants to attend him. Mr. Vane professed himself ready to serve the cause of God in the meanest capacity. He was notwithstanding much mortified, and discovered his resentment. Although he had sat at church among the magistrates from his first arrival, yet he, and those who had been left out with him, placed themselves with the deacons, and when he was invited by the governor to return to his place, he refused it.

An

* Hubbard.

† The military companies elected their officers, otherwise the court would undoubtedly have appointed other serjeants.

AN extraordinary act, made by the general court this session, very much heightened the discontent. Many persons of the favourite opinions in Boston were expected from England; a penalty therefore was laid on all persons who should entertain in their houses, any stranger who came with intent to reside, or should allow the use of any lot or habitation above three weeks, without liberty from one of the standing council or two other assistants. The penalty on private persons was forty pounds, and twenty pounds besides for every month they continued in the offence. And any town, which gave or sold a lot to such stranger, was subject to 100l. penalty, but if any inhabitant of such town should enter his dissent with a magistrate, he was to be excused his part of the fine.* This was a very severe order, and was so disliked by the people of Boston, that upon the governor's return from court they all refused to go out to meet him or shew him any respect. † Mr. Winthrop, however firm and resolute in the execution of his office and steady to his principles, yet in private life behaved with much moderation. He was obliging and condescending to all, and by this

* Mass. Records.

† Mr. Cotton was so dissatisfied with this law, that he says, he intended to have removed out of the jurisdiction to Quinnipiaek, since called New-Haven; but finding the law was not improved to exclude such persons as he feared it would be, he altered his mind. *Ans. to Baily.*

this means, in a short time, recovered their affections and was in greater esteem than ever. Indeed, while Boston thus slighted him, the other towns increased their respect; and in travelling, the same summer, to Ipswich, he was guarded from town to town with more ceremony than he desired. *

Mr. Vane, in company with Lord Leigh, son of the Earl of Marlborough, who came to see the country, sailed for England the beginning of August, where he had a much larger field opened. The nation at that time was disposed to receive very favourably, men of his genius and cast of his mind. The share he had in the revolution there, and his unhappy fate upon the restoration of King Charles the second, are too well known to need any notice here. He came into New-England under peculiar advantages. His father was one of the privy council. He himself had the friendship of the Lord Say and Seal, who was in the highest esteem in the colony. He made great professions of religion, and conformed to the peculiar scruples of that day. I have seen a long letter wrote to him while he was on ship-board, by one of the passengers in the same ship, applauding him for honouring God so far as to shorten his hair upon his arriving in England from France, and urging a compleat reformation by bringing it to its primitive length and form. It was with much difficulty he could obtain his father's

* Hubbard,

10 THE HISTORY OF

ther's consent to come over, but his inclination was so strong, that, at length, he had leave of absence for three years. It is said, that the King being acquainted with Mr. Vane's disposition, commanded the father, who had no great affection for the religion of New-England, to gratify him.* However this may have been, it was believed in New-England to be true, and, with the other circumstances mentioned, strongly recommended him. Part of his business was the settlement of Connecticut, in conjunction with Mr. Winthrop the governor's son, as agents for Lord Say and Seal, and Lord Brooke, &c.† The most valuable places for townships had been taken up before, by people from the Massachusetts, as we have already observed; and the agents, not being willing to disturb them, contented themselves, at present, with the possession of the mouth of the river, and
Mr.

* Hubbard.

† The Earl of Warwick obtained a grant of the sea coast, from Naraganset river to the south-west 40 leagues, to keep the breadth to the south sea. This he assigned, in 1631, to Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brooke, Lord Rich, Charles Fieanes, Sir Nathaniel Rich, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Richard Knightly, John Pym, John Hampden, John Humfrey, and Herbert Pelham, Esq; These, with their associates, are the noblemen and gentlemen often mentioned in private letters to be expected over every year; and Mr. Fenwick kept possessions, and would not suffer settlements, until affairs in England had taken such a turn, that persons of their character had no occasion for an asylum.

Mr. Vane was stopped, by the general desire of the colony, in order to his being elected governor. The administration of a young and unexperienced, but obstinate and self-sufficient, governor, could not but be disliked by the major part of the people; and, at the next election, they not only would not so much as chuse him an assistant, but made an order, that no man for the time to come should be qualified for the place of governor, until he had been, at least, one whole year in the country †. A letter wrote from New-England, shews the sense they had of him after they had made trial. "Mr. Vane, coming from England a young gentleman, was presently elected governor, and before he was half warm in his seat, to show his spirit, began to broach new tenets drawn from the lees of one Mr. Wheelwright, agitated with such violence, as if they had been matters of that consequence that the peace and welfare of New-England must be sacrificed, rather than they should not take place. Divisions are always dangerous, never safe, never more dangerous than in a new settled government. Yet this man, altogether ignorant of the art of government, thinks it not enough to set the house on fire, but must add oil to the flame, and so far had the bandying of these things proceeded, that it was of God's great mercy it ended not in our destruction. It is fit that something should be said of the man

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" that

* I do not find this order in the records. It is mentioned by Mr. Hubbard, who was then on the spot.

“ that put us into this danger. Truly, by his af-
“ fect you would judge him a good man. Yet I
“ am persuaded he hath kindled those sparks
“ among us, which many ages will not be able to
“ extinguish. But the wisdom of the state put a
“ period to his government before he had run
“ out his circuit. They were necessitated to un-
“ do the work of their own hands, and leave a
“ blemish upon that rash undertaking, for posteri-
“ ty to descant upon, and a caveat to us, that all
“ men are not fit for government, and none so
“ dangerous, when he is up, as one that makes
“ his affection his rule. But this disgrace took
“ so deep an impression, that partly from a sense
“ of it, and partly from a consciousness how ill he
“ had deserved of us through his heat of indif-
“ cretion, he exchanged New-England for Old.”
Lord Say and Seal, speaking of him, after his ar-
rival in England, in a letter to Mr. Cotton, says,
“ For the young man, Mr. Vane, whom your love
“ followeth, and it is well it doth so, for he may be
“ recovered, I have not been wanting to do my
“ endeavour to shew him the danger of his way,
“ and what hath been the sad issue thereof in
“ others; from whence I think it cometh, and
“ whether Satan’s aim is to drive it, as might have
“ appeared to you by my letters, written to him
“ unto New-England, when I first perceived his
“ delusions, if he had shewn my letters to you. I
“ shall be glad to do my best to that end still; but
“ I have not that frequent converse with his
“ family, now, as heretofore, whereof there are
“ the

" the most in Holland, and the rest will shortly be
" there also * "

THE party in New-England lost their head.
Mrs. Hutchinson, notwithstanding, continued her
lectures.

* After all that has been said to the disadvantage of
Mr. Vane's character, it ought to be remembered to his
honour, that notwithstanding the slights put upon him
by the colony, he shewed a truly christian spirit of for-
giveness; for when, in the year 1644, an attachment
was made of the effects of alderman Berkley of London,
in the Massachusetts colony, at the suit of the La Tour,
and judgment given for 2000*l.* sterling, and no appeal
admitted, a heavy complaint was made against the go-
vernment, and they were threatned with the loss of their
privileges, Sir H. Vane stood their friend, and, by his
great interest with the parliament, appeased their re-
sentment, and laid the storm which was gathering and
hung over them. *M. S. Letter.*

The author of the life and death of Sir Henry Vane,
printed in 1662, says ——" That it was suggested by
the bishops to the then King concerning him, that the
heir of a considerable family about his Majesty was grown
into dislike of the discipline and ceremonies of the
church of England, and that his Majesty might do well
to take some course about him. On this, the then bi-
shop of London took him to task, who seemed to handle
him gently in the conference, but concluded harshly
enough against him in the close. In fine, seeing him-
self on all hands in an evil case, he resolved for New-
England. In order to this, striking in with some non-
conformists

lectures. The court, for the present, took no notice of her conduct, nor of any erroneous opinions, but waited the determination of the churches in a general council; accordingly a synod was appointed to be held at Newtown, the 30th of August, where were present, not only the ministers, and

conformists which intended that way, 'his honourable birth, long hair, and other circumstances of his person, rendered his fellow travellers jealous of him as a spy to betray their liberty rather than any way like to advantage their design. But he, that they thought at first sight to have too little of Christ for their company, did soon after appear to have too much for them. For he had not been long in New-England, but he ripened into more knowledge and experience of Christ, than the churches there could bear the testimony of. Even New-England could not bear all his words, though there was no King's court or King's chapel. Then he returned for Old England."

The following letter was wrote, by a person of quality, to a near relation of Sir Henry Vane, about a week after his execution.

"Madam,

IF I do, later than others, give you an account of the share I have in the loss of your generous kinsman, it is because I would not rudely disturb the motions of so just a sorrow; but I hope that you are assured I have so real a concern in all that relates to you, that it was not necessary, by an early haste, to send you an information of it. I have, Madam, whilst I own a love to my country, a deep

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and messengers of churches, but the magistrates also, who, Mr. Weld says, (I suppose he was a member) were not only hearers but speakers also as they thought fit. Mr. Cotton, although at the head of the ministers, was too much a party to be proper for a moderator, and Mr. Hooker and Mr. Bulkley were chosen. Three weeks were spent in disputing, *pro* and *con*, and at length above fourscore points or opinions, said to have been maintained by some or other in the country, were condemned as erroneous, and the result was signed by all the members but Mr. Cotton. He had expressed

a deep interest in the public loss which so many worthy persons lament. The world is robbed of an unparalleled example of virtue and piety. His great abilities made his enemies persuade themselves, that all the revolutions in the last age were wrought by his influence, as if the world was moved only by his engine. In him they lodged all the dying hopes of the party. There was no opportunity that he did not improve for the advantage of his country. And when he was in his last and much deplored state, he strove to make the people in love with that freedom they had so foolishly and lavishly thrown away.——He was great in all his actions, but to me he seemed greatest in his sufferings, when his enemies seemed to fear that he alone should be able to acquaint them with a change of fortune. In his lowest condition, you have seen him the terror of a great prince, strengthened by many potent confederates and armies. You have seen him live in high estimation and honour, and certainly he died with it. Men arrive

expressed his dislike of most of them, but declined condemning them all, maintaining, that union to Christ preceded faith in him, but at the same time declared, that the other new opinions were heretical, absurd, and some of them blasphemous, and promised to bear testimony against them. * This general agreement struck a damp upon the opinionists, and gave further life and vigor to the other party. Mr. Hooker at first disapproved of determining the points in controversy by a synod. He writes to Mr. Shepard of Newtown, April 8, 1636. (It should be 37). "For your
" general

at honours by several ways. The martyrs, though they wanted the glittering crowns, the princes of those ages dispensed, have rich ones in every just man's esteem.---- Virtue, though unfortunate, shines in spite of all its enemies, nor is it in any power to deface these lasting monuments your friend hath raised, of his, in every heart that either knew him or held any intelligence with his fame. But, madam, I trespass too long upon your patience. This is a subject I am apt to dwell on, because I can never say enough of it. I shall now only desire you to make use of that fortitude and virtue that raised your friend above the power and malice of his enemies, and do not, by an immoderate sorrow, destroy that which was so dear to him, yourself, but live the lively representation of his virtue, the exercise of which hath made you always the admiration of

Your humble servant, &c."

The 21st of June 1662.

Life of Sir H. Vane.

* Hubbard—Johnson.

" general synod, I cannot yet see either how rea-
 " sonable or how suitable it will be for your turn
 " for the settling and establishing the truth in
 " that honourable way as were to be desired.
 " My ground is this. They will be chief agents
 " in the synod who are chief parties in the cause,
 " and for them only, who are prejudiced in the
 " controversy, to pass sentence against cause or
 " person, how improper ! how unprofitable ! My
 " present thoughts run thus : That such conclu-
 " sions which are most extra, most erroneous, and
 " cross to the common current, send them over
 " to the godly learned to judge in our own coun-
 " try, and return their apprehensions. I sup-
 " pose the issue will be more uncontrollable. If
 " any should suggest this was the way to make
 " the clamour too great and loud, and to bring
 " a prejudice upon the plantations, I should soon
 " answer, there is nothing done in corners here
 " but it is openly there related, and in such no-
 " torious cases, which cannot be kept secret, the
 " most plain and naked relation ever causeth the
 " truth most to appear, and prevents all ground-
 " less and needless jealousies, whereby men are
 " apt to make things more and worse than they
 " are."

ALTHOUGH two of the elders were the modera-
 tors, or prolocutors of the assembly, yet Mr. Win-
 throp seems to have had a controuling power.
 An anonymous writer of a manuscript, sent from
 New-England the same year, gives this account of
 it.

it. "The synod being met, much time is spent
"in ventilation and emptying of private passions ;
"at length, divers truths are concluded upon, as
"the nature of grace and faith, the necessity of
"repentance and good works, the perfection of
"the scriptures, and like truths of common allay
"were assented unto by common suffrage : But
"when they came to the nature of the covenants
"the qualifications preceeding it, the use of it, the
"seal of the spirit, the Helenæ for which they
"strive, there they were as different as ever, re-
"solved in nothing but this, that no one would
"be resolved by another ; but therein was the
"wisdom and excellent spirit of the governor
"seen, silencing passionate and impertinent
"speeches as another Constantine, desiring the
"divine oracles might be heard speak, and express
"their own meaning, adjourning the assembly
"when he saw heat and passion, so that, through
"the blessing of God, the assembly is dissolved,
"and jarring, dissonant opinions, if not reconciled,
"yet are covered ; and they who came together
"with minds exasperated, by this means, depart
"in peace, and promise, by a mutual covenant
"that no difference in opinion shall alienate
"their affections any more, but that they will
"refer doubts to be resolved, by the great God,
"at that great day when we shall appear at his
"tribunal." The synod being thus over, the
"minds of the people were prepared for a further

proceeding

proceeding against the opinionists. * The court at their sessions, the 2d of November, took notice of the petition, presented and called seditious, in March preceeding. They expelled two of their own members, Aspinwall and Coggeshall, one for signing and the other for justifying it, and sent a warrant to the town of Boston to return two other deputies in their room. The town agreed to send them back, but Mr. Cotton hearing of it, went to the meeting and prevented it; and they chose two others, one of which had signed the petition, and was therefore dismissed. † The court then sent for Mr. Wheelwright, and requiring of him an acknowledgement of his offence, he refused it and justified his conduct; but the court resolved, that it tended to disturb the civil peace, disfranchised and banished him, allowing 14 days to settle his affairs, &c. ‡

Mrs. Hutchinson was next called to her trial, before the whole court and many of the elders. An ancient manuscript, of the trial at large, having been preserved, discovers nothing in her conduct but what might naturally be expected from a high degree of enthusiasm. Her notions of revelations do not seem to have been altogether dis-

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* This spiritual court did not pronounce particular persons to be hereticks, but it determined what was heresy, and made the way plain for the secular power to proceed.

† Hubbard.

‡ Mass. Records.

countenanced by Mr. Cotton himself. Her sentence upon record stands thus: "Mrs. Hutchinson, son, the wife of Mr. William Hutchinson, being convented for traducing the ministers and their ministry in the country, she declared voluntarily her revelations, and that she should be delivered and the court ruined with their posterity, and thereupon was banished; and, in the mean while, was committed to Mr. Joseph Weld (of Roxbury) until the court shall dispose of her." Having received her sentence from the court, she had a further trial to go through in the church. She was first admonished. Mr. Cotton says, that Mr. Davenport and he imagined they had convinced her of her errors, and she presented what was called a recantation under her hand, but at the same time professed that she never was of any other judgment than what she now held forth. The recantation is not preserved. She had, no doubt, some fine spun distinctions, too commonly made use of in theological controversies, to serve as a subterfuge, if there be occasion; * and perhaps, as many other enthusiasts have done, she considered herself divinely commissioned for some great purpose, to obtain which, she might think

* Mr. Cotton, in a letter to Mr. Stone at Hartford, says, "Mrs. Hutchinson, of whom you speak, though she publicly revoked the errors, yet affirming her judgment was never otherwise, though her expressions were contrary, she was excommunicated by the whole church, *nem con.* Some other of the members, that joined with her, were gone away before," &c.

think those windings, subtleties and insinuations lawful, which will hardly consist with the rule of morality. No wonder she was immoderately vain, when she found magistrates and ministers embracing the novelties advanced by her. The whole church of Boston, a few members excepted, were her converts. At length, she forsook the public assemblies, and set up what she called a purer worship in her own family. It is not probable she was encouraged herein by Mr. Vane, who, some years after, fell into the same practice in England. Mr. Hooker, who had been charged by her with want of soundness in the faith, in return expresses himself with some acrimony concerning her. "The expression of providence against this wretched woman hath proceeded from the Lord's miraculous mercy, and his bare arm hath been discovered therein from first to last, that all the churches may hear and fear. I do believe, such a heap of hideous errors, at once to be vented by such a self-deluding and deluded creature, no history can record; and yet, after recantation of all, to be cast out as unfavourable salt that she may not continue a pest to the place, that will be for ever marvellous in the eyes of all the saints. It will not get out of my mind and heart but there is a mystery in the closure and up-shot of this business; but he, that carries the wisdom of the crafty headlong, is able to lay open that also in his season. At the first reading of your relation I could not but suspect so much, may be it is but my melancholick

" cholick suspicion, but these three things pre-
 " sented themselves, in open view, to my mind,
 " 1. That it was never intended she should be ex-
 " communicated. 2. That her recantation was
 " still with so much reservation, as sinks the
 " mind of such who would have made way for
 " her escape, viz. That our election is first evi-
 " denced. 3. That this conceit is a nest egg to
 " breed and bring in many other false imagina-
 " tions, if it be stretched to its breadth. Add al-
 " so hereto, that there is no odds from herself but
 " only in some expressions and misprisions that
 " way, as she would have men think, and then
 " you have the whole cause, where it was con-
 " ceived in a narrower compass and under a double
 " vizard, that the appearance of it may suit every
 " purpose as the occasion fits."

Mr. Hutchinson, her husband, sold his estate
 and removed, with his wife and family, first to
 Aquidneck * (Rhode-Island) being one of the
 purchasers of that Island from the Indians;
 where, by the influence of his wife †, the peo-
 ple laid aside Mr. Coddington and three other
 magistrates, and chose him for their sole ruler;
 but he dying, about the year 1642, and she being
 dissatisfied with the people or place, removed to
 the Dutch country beyond New-Haven; and the
 next

* Canonius, chief Sachem of Naraganset and Niantic,
 sold the island to William Coddington and his associates;
 March 29, 1637. M. S.

† Hubbard.

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next year, she and all of her family which were with her, being 16 persons, were killed by the Indians, except one daughter whom they carried into captivity *.

* For the fullhood of her declaration she was excommunicated. Some writers mention the manner of her death, as being a remarkable judgment of God for her heresies. Her partizans charged the guilt of the murder upon the colony. Mr. Weld says, she was delivered of as many unformed fetuses at a birth as she maintained errors, and that another actress was delivered of a monster, and that all the women were seized with a violent vomiting and purging; stories, as credible as that of the Flanders Countess, who is said to have as many children at a birth, as there are days in the year.

The author of a little tract, published in 1676, under the title of 'A Glass for the People of New-England,' by S. G. (it seems by the language and the malevolent spirit to be Samuel Gorton) says, "The next piece of wickedness I am to mind you of, is your barbarous action committed against Mrs. Ann Hutchinson, whom you first imprisoned, then banished, and so exposed her to that desolate condition that she fell into the hands of the Indians, who murdered her and her family except one child; and, after that, made a notorious lie on the destroyed woman, which Samuel Clark, priest of London, taking the lie out of his brother Weld's short story, must needs put into his book, called, God's Judgments against heresy. The woman before-mentioned, having been by the priests, and professors pumped and sifted to get something against her, laying their snares to entrap her, and taking their opportunity when her husband and friends, as

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THE confusion in the colony, occasioned by these religious disputes, was very great ; and it appears, from the letters then wrote from England, that they made great noise there ; but after all, it is highly

it was said, were absent, examined and banished her. So she goes by water, with many others, who perceived they must go to port next, and providentially fall in with Rhode-Island, where they made a cave or caves, and in them lived until the cold winter was past, in which time it was known to the professors where they were, and that they had bought the island of the Indians. And the professors began to stir and endeavour to bring the island within the compass of their patent ; so the poor molested woman, it is like, let in fear, and thought she would go far enough from their reach ; so going southward to seek a place to settle upon, where she and her family might live in quietness, fell upon a piece of land that was in controversy between the Dutch and the natives, and the natives, being in a heat, came upon them and were the executioners of what the New England priests, magistrates and church members, were the occasion, through their wicked and cruel proceedings, in forcing them to flee from their rage and fury.—So, reader, thou mayst see the rage and envy of this professing generation ; for they imprisoned and banished this tenderly bred woman in or towards winter, and what with fears and tossings to and fro, the woman miscarried, upon which they grounded their abominable untruth. Many witnesses might be produced to prove this, and to disprove their abominable frequently told slander, and also printed by priests and New England professors and their confederates here in England.¹²

highly probable that if Mr. Vane had remained in England, or had not craftily made use of the party which maintained these peculiar opinions in religion, to bring him into civil power and authority and draw the affections of the people from those who were their leaders into the wilderness, these like many other errors, might have prevailed a short time without any disturbance to the state, and, as the absurdity of them appeared silently subsided, and posterity would not have known that such a woman as Mrs. Hutchinson ever existed *. We may suppose that they, who from the beginning had gone along with her in her errors, were not displeased at a good pretence for getting rid of her without condemning themselves. It is difficult to discover, from Mr Cotton's own account of his principles, published ten years afterwards, in his answer to Bailey, wherein he differed from her. Her warm imagination was more wrought upon by the enthusiastic tenet than his placid temper. He seems to have been in danger when she was upon trial. Mr. Dudley, the Deputy governor, bore hard upon him; Hugh Peters shewed that he was well disposed to bring him

* A great number of the principal inhabitants, most of them being disarmed and deprived of their civil privileges, removed. Mr. Coddington and Dummer had been assistants, Mr. Hutchinson, Aspinwall and Coggeshall, representatives; Rainsford, Sanford, Savage, Eliot, Easton, Wendall, Denison, were all persons of distinction. About 60 were disarmed in Boston besides.

him upon trial. The other ministers treated him coldly, but Mr. Winthrop, whose influence was now greater than ever, protected him. Not long after, in a sermon at a fast, Dec. 13, 1638, he confessed and bewailed the churches and his own security and credulity, by means whereof so many dangerous errors had spread, and shewed how he came to be deceived; the errors being formed, in words, so near the truth which he had preached and the falshood of the maintainers of them being such that they usually would deny to him what they had maintained to others *. His conduct, in this day of temptation, was forgotten and he soon recovered; and, to his death, preserved the esteem and respect of the whole colony.

Mr. Wheelwright went to New-Hampshire, and laid the foundation of the town and church of Exeter; and afterwards removed to Hampton, and from thence to Salisbury. He was restored in 1644, upon a slight acknowledgment. He was in England in 1658, and in favour with Cromwell, as appears by a letter to the church at Hampton. He lived to be the oldest minister in the colony; which would have been taken notice of, if his persecutors had not remained in power †.

THE court, to prevent tumults, required about sixty of the inhabitants of Boston to deliver up their

* Hubbard.

† He died in 1680. His son, grandson, and great grandson have been of the council for the province.

their arms and ammunition of every sort, under penalty of 10 l. upon each person neglecting, and laid the like penalty upon every one of them who should afterwards borrow any arms or ammunition. And, at the time, made a law to punish any person by fine, imprisonment or banishment, who should defame any court or any of their sentences.

A GREAT number removed out of the jurisdiction, some of them being banished, some disfranchised; more to Rhode-Island than to any other place. In a short time, most of them were permitted to return and were restored to their former privileges. The most of those errors, which were condemned by the synod, it is probable, they never would have owned as their principles, and they appear rather to be deduced, by some of the synod, as naturally following from the capital opinions, than to have been advanced by the opinionists themselves; or perhaps may have been unguardedly dropped by particular persons, in the heat of their disputes, or during an enthusiastick frenzy; and in others may have been the effect of a fond fancy for paradoxical tenets. They were charged indeed with principles which admit and introduce all kinds of immorality, and which make no distinction between virtue and vice. So are fatalists and predestinarians. Many of them were afterwards employed in posts of honour and trust, were exemplary in their lives and conversations and their letters and private papers shew that

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they

they were pious and devout, and with the name of antinomians paid the strictest regard to moral virtue. The opinionists were punished for being deluded enthusiasts. The other side were deluded also by a zeal for the punishment, for the honor of God, of such of his creatures as differed in opinion from themselves. It is evident, not only by Mrs. Hutchinson's trial, but by many other public proceedings, that inquisition was made into men's private judgments as well as into their declarations and practice. Toleration was preached against a sin in rulers which would bring down the judgments of heaven upon the land *.

THIS unpappy controversy did not take off the attention of the government from their necessary defence against the Pequod Indians, who continued their hostilities. Governor Vane had sent Capt. Underhill, the winter before, to strengthen the garrison.

* Mr. Dudley died with a copy of verses in his pocket, wrote with his own hand. The following two lines make part of it.

Let men of God, in court and churches, watch
O'er such as do a toleration hatch.

This was the prevailing doctrine many years, and until their eyes were opened by a fresh persecution coming upon themselves from King James. This made his declaration for a general liberty of conscience welcome, and they thanked the King for allowing to them what they before thought themselves bound in conscience to deny to others.

garrison at Saybrook fort, which they laid siege to for several weeks together. The three colonies, Massachusetts, Plymouth and Connecticut, agreed with their joint forces, to go into the Indian country and attempt their intire destruction. Massachusetts sent 160 men under the command of Capt. Stoughton. The number raised by each town gives us some idea of the proportion which the several settlements bore to one another at this time. * Connecticut men being settled near the Indian country, it was expected they would be early in action; the first of the Massachusetts men that could be raised were therefore ordered to march. This party consisted of 40 men. Capt. Patrick, † who had the command of them, by letters dispatched from Providence, acquainted Capt. Mason the commander of the Connecticut men, that he was hastening to join him. The body of the Indians were in two forts or inclosures, which on all sides they had rendered as defensible

* Boston 26, Charlestown 12 Roxbury 10, Dorchester 13, Weymouth 5, Hingham 6, Medford 3, Newbury 3, Ipswich 17, Salem 18. Sangus (Lyn) 16, Watertown 14, Newtown 19, Mablehead 3.

† Patrick had served in Holland, in the Prince of Orange's guard, and was sent for to instruct the people of the colony in military discipline. In order to his being made a freeman, he was admitted a member of the church at Watertown, but the strict manners of the New England men did not agree with a Dutch soldier. He soon removed the Dutch at New-Netherland. He was shot dead by a Dutchman at Stamford in 1643. Hubbard.

defensible as they could by pallisados, their skill in fortification carrying them no farther. Sassacus, the chief sachem, was in one of them, and to that the English intended. Capt. Mason went with about 80 English (20 of which, under Capt. Underhill of the Massachusetts, he had taken from Saybrook fort) and 100 river * Indians, by water, to the Naragansets country, where 200 of that tribe joined him. He would gladly have waited for Patrick's company, but was afraid the friend Indians would attribute the delay to want of courage, and therefore, on the 24th of May, he began his march for Sassacus's fort. The Naraganset Indians were struck with terror at the name of Sassacus, and endeavoured to dissuade Mason, but finding him determined, many of them left him, and near an hundred of them went back to Providence, where they reported that the Pequods had killed all the English. This report was carried to Boston, and must have caused great concern there. † Soon after, one of Underhill's men fell lame, and the rest of the company, wearied in travelling, being loaded with arms, ammunition and provisions, and Sassacus's fort being eight miles further distant, they resolved to attack the Indians in the other which was called Mistick fort. ‡

Wequash,

* Connecticut river.

† MS letter.

‡ A manuscript journal says, that Underhill, upon his man's lameness, resolved that he and his company should go to Mistick, reading God's mind by that providence ;
and

Wequash, * originally a Pequod, who was born at Mistick but now lived with the Naragansets, was their guide to the destruction of his own countrymen and nearest relations. They sent him forward to reconnoitre, and he returned with intelligence, that the Pequods had taken great store of bass that day and were in a high feast, singing, dancing and blessing their god † for that the English were gone away. They had seen the vessels pass by their river, from Saybrook towards Naraganset, and supposed they were gone off. Some of the English advanced, and heard the Indians at their revels until midnight. The next morning (May 26) about break of day, after a march of three or four miles from the place where they halted the night before, they came within sight of the fort which was upon a hill. Wequash piloted them to the gate. The centinel happened just then to be gone into a wigwam to light his

and that Mason, unwilling to part, conformed. but Hubbard says, they were both of a mind, for the other reasons mentioned. Underhill was one of the forwardest of the Boston enthusiasts.

* Wequash became a christian and an apostle among his own people, travelling up and down to make converts; and when he died, gave his soul to Christ, and his only child to the English, hoping it would know more of Christ than its poor father ever did. Mr. Shepard's letter to London.

† This may be the conjecture of the journalist.

his pipe. The Indians were all in a deep sleep. One of their dogs, barking at the approach of the English, caused a discovery. The Indians within the fort began their tremendous yell, and the Indians without, who were in the English rear and afraid to come up seconded them. No sound that was ever made can be more horrid than the Indian yell. The English immediately fired into the fort, the palisades not being so close as to hinder the muzzles of their guns going between. Not being able easily to enter at the gate, Mason went round to the other side of the fort, where was another opening or entrance barred with branches of forked trees only; at which he entered, with those that were with him. His lieutenant and the rest of the English entered, at the same time by other parts. The Indians, who had no arms but bows, tomahawks and English hatchets, made stout resistance at first, and wounded many of the English. Mason intended to have spared the wigwams, but finding his men thus distressed, he entered one of them, and, with a firebrand he found there, set it on fire. While he was doing it an Indian was drawing his bow and would undoubtedly have killed him, if his serjeant, coming in, had not cut the bow-string with his hanger. The fire spread to the rest of the wigwams, and the English all retreated without the fort and surrounded it. The Indians, some climbed to the top of the palisades to avoid the fire, and so exposed themselves to the English bullets, others forced their way out of the fort, and if any of them
brake

brake through the English, the allied Indians were in a ring at some little distance; so that few if any escaped. There were about 60 or 70 wigwams in the fort or inclosure, and, it was imagined, four or five hundred Pequods men and women and children. Three of the English were slain, and many, both English and indians their friends, wounded with arrows, and some very badly. The army was in distress, notwithstanding their victory. The morning was cold. They had no sort of refreshment, not so much as water, nor any shelter for their wounded. They had no intelligence of their vessels, which had been ordered to come from Naraganset to Pequod river. Many Indians were in the woods, who were not of the party in the fort. In the midst of this perplexity, they espied their vessels at a distance sailing towards them. They then took up their wounded upon mats fastened to poles, some with the heads of the arrows in their bodies and marched to the vessels six miles through the woods and swamps, the Indians lying in wait at every convenient place, and, with their arrows wounded many more; but many of the Indians were slain in their attempts upon the English. They put their wounded into one of the barks, which set sail the same night and reached Saybrook fort. Patrick came in a pinnace from Providence to Naraganset soon after the forces marched, and, with the other vessels, went forward, taking Myontinomo, the sachem of Naraganset with them; but their arrival was prevented by
contrary

contrary winds until the morning of the action, after it was over. Most of the English and all the Indians marched through what was called Niantic's county, to Saybrook fort, their vessels also arriving there the next day. The Indians, in alliance with the English, had taken eighteen captives, ten males and eight females, four of the males were disposed of, one to each of four sachems, the rest put to the sword. Four of the females were left at the fort, the other four carried to Connecticut, where the Indians challenged them as their prize ; the English not agreeing to it they were sacrificed also to end the dispute. The policy, as well as the morality of this proceeding, may well be questioned. The Indians have ever shewn great barbarity to their English captives, the English in too many instances have retaliated it. This has only enraged them the more. Besides, to destroy women and children, for the barbarity of their husbands and parents, cannot easily be justified.

SASSACUS, the sachem, after the taking of Mistick fort and so many of his warriors being slain, broke down his own fort, burnt all their wigwams put his goods into canoes, and men, women and children forsook their country and went away by land to Quinnipiack. The forces under Capt. Stoughton arrived at Saybrook the latter end of June. They pursued the Indians, meeting now and then two or three at a time, whom they killed or took prisoners : at length, they were informed

ed of a great body of Indians in a swamp, * which they surrounded. They seem to have been of other tribes as well as Pequods. One of the sachems came out with 99 men, woman and children, and delivered themselves up to the English. Wampum he said he had none, nor had he ever killed any English. The garment he had on, which was of black beaver skin, he presented. An Indian was sent in to tell the rest, that if they would come out and deliver up their arms and clear themselves from having murdered any English they should fare the better. After a short parley, they determined, that as they had lived together they would die together. Twelve of the murderers were among them. They were about eighty in all. The English fired upon them, and having surrounded the swamp all night, entered in the morning, but found great part had escaped. Some of the Indians had guns and fired upon the English. This is the first account we have of their making use of guns. Sassacus fled to the Mo-hawks, by whom it was reported he was murdered. It is more probable, that he and his company incorporated with them. Many of the captives were sent to Bermudas and sold for slaves. The Pequod tribe was wholly extinguished. The Naragansets took charge of some of them, and promised to pay the English for their service; the few that remained never dared own they belonged to that tribe, but mixed with the Nara-

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gansets

* Mr. Hubbard says, near Fairfield or Stratford.

gansets and other tribes. We have been more particular in relating this action, it being the first between the English and Indians, many circumstances not having been published before, and the rest of the Indians being thereby brought to be more afraid of the English, and restrained from open hostilities near forty year's together.

This year, 1637, a number of the Puritan ministers in England wrote over to the ministers of New-England, informing them of reports that they had embraced new opinions which they disliked formerly, and which they in England still judged to be groundless and unwarrantable, viz. "That a stinted form of prayer and set liturgy is unlawful. That the children of godly and approved christians are not to be baptized until their parents be set members of some particular congregations. That the parents themselves, though of approved piety, are not to be received to the Lord's supper, until they be admitted set members. That the power of excommunication is in the body of the church, though the minister should be of another mind. That upon a minister's being dismissed, though unjustly, from his particular congregation, he ceased to be a minister. That one minister cannot perform a ministerial act in any but his own congregation. That members of one congregation may not communicate in another." They add, "that letters in New-England had influenced many in Old to leave their assemblies, because of a stinted liturgy, and

and to absent themselves from the Lord's supper because such as ought to be were not debarred from it." They therefore requested that a seasonable review might be taken of the grounds and reasons that had swayed, and sent over, and if they were found to have weight they would be ready to give the right hand of fellowship; if otherwise they would animadvert upon them, so far as they varied from the truth, &c. The famous puritan, John Dod, joined in the request. * Mr. Hooker, upon the occasion of this letter, writes thus to Mr. Shepard, "I confess freely to thee my fears that the first and second questions, touching a stinted form of prayer, will prove very hard to make any handsome work upon; and I do sadly suspect a troublesome answer may be returned to all the arguments. * This to yourself, wherein I crave silence."

AN answer was wrote by Mr. Cotton, and a more full answer afterwards printed. In some of the points, I suppose, the two last, the ministers in England were misinformed. In some of the others, particularly those which it was thought most difficult to answer, in a few years after the clergy in England fully concurred with their brethren in New-England.

In June 1637, two large ships arrived from England with passengers. Mr. Eaton and Mr. Hop-
kins,

* M.S. original letters and papers.

kins,* two London merchants, Mr. Davenport a minister of great character for learning and piety, and many others of good note and condition were of this company. Great pains were taken to persuade them to stay in the jurisdiction. The court offered them any place they would pitch upon. The town of Newbury offered to give up their settlement to them. Quinnipiack, and the country between them and the Dutch, was represented as a very fruitful place and well situated for trade and navigation. They flattered themselves, but upon what grounds does not appear, that there they should be out of the reach of a general governor, with which the country was from time to time threatned. These were the reasons publickly

* Mr. Hopkins had been a Turkey merchant in London, of good credit and esteem, but of puritan principles; and for the sake of an undisturbed enjoyment of the worship of God, agreeable to these principles, came to New England. He married Mr. Eaton's daughter in law. When Mr. Eaton removed to New Haven, Mr. Hopkins went to Hartford, the chief town of Connecticut, and was chosen their governor several years, at length, returned to England and was chosen member of parliament, was warden of the fleet, a commissioner of the navy and of the admiralty. He had, notwithstanding, thoughts of returning to New England, having an affection for the country, but death put an end to those thoughts. He died at London, in March 1657. He left a legacy to Harvard College, which was unpaid until 1710, when it was received by virtue of a decree in chancery.

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ly given for removing there. Besides, the principal men of the new company would be at the head of the government there; here, it was natural to expect, the old standers would be considered as their superiors. They laid the foundation of a flourishing colony, of which Quinnipiack, or New-Haven, was the chief town. They agreed among themselves upon a model of government in church and state, very like to that of the Massachusetts, and continued a distinct colony and government until the year 1665, * when Connecticut and New-Haven, having three years before been incorporated by a charter from King Charles the second, united under one governor. † The people

* Connecticut charter was brought over by Mr. Winthrop in 1662, but New-Haven refused to submit to it. At a general meeting at New Haven, 4th Nov. 1662, Mr. Davenport being present, insisted, 1. That the colony of New Haven was not within the patent, 2. That it was not lawful to join, and they unanimously concluded to stand to their own combination *Coffe's journal*. But in 1665, upon commissioners coming over to enquire into the state of the colonies, they wisely changed their resolution, and of a colony became a county, and so have remained ever since.

* The heads of the combination or agreement were these, viz.

That none shall be admitted to any office in the government, civil or military, or have a voice in any election, except he be a member of one of the churches in New England; That

people in the Massachusetts soon after reflected upon the favour of providence, in not gratifying them with the continuance of this company among them. It appeared that the Dutch were designing to take possession of this country, and they opposed the English in the settlement even of

That all the freemen, without summons, shall yearly meet, the last fourth day in May, and vote in the election of governor, deputy governor, magistrates and other officers; such as cannot attend in person may vote by proxy, or send their votes sealed.

That there be a general court, consisting of governor, deputy governor and magistrates, and two deputies for each plantation where there is a church and freemen orderly admitted; every member of the court to have a voice and all determinations to be by the major vote of the magistrates and the major vote of the deputies. This court to sit the last fourth day of May in every year of course, and on other occasions to be summoned by the governor, or in his absence by the deputy governor, or in the absence of both by two magistrates. To declare, publish and establish the laws of God the supreme legislator, and to make and repeal orders for smaller matters not particularly determined in scripture, according to the general rules of righteousness. To order all affairs of war and peace, and all matters relative to the defending or fortifying the country. To receive and determine all appeals, civil or criminal, from any inferior courts, in which they are to proceed according to scripture light, and laws and orders agreeing therewith.

That

of New-Haven itself, threatening hostilities against them. Mr. Eaton, being a man of good abilities, was a fit person to resist them; and, finally, in the year 1650, the other colonies uniting in the cause with New-Haven, they were by treaty limited to Greenwich, said to be ten or twelve miles on a strait

That there be a court of magistrates, to meet or be held twice every year, to determine all weighty causes, civil or criminal, above those limited to plantation courts, and to receive and try all appeals from plantation courts. In this court, when the voices are equal, the governor, or in his absence the deputy governor, shall have a casting voice.

That there be a court in each plantation, in which there shall be one or more magistrates; the freemen to choose two, three or four deputies to assist the magistrate for the trial of civil causes, not exceeding twenty pounds, and criminal, the penalty not exceeding stocks, whipping, or five pounds fine.

Their laws and judicial proceedings varied in very few circumstances from the Massachusetts; one indeed was a material one, that they had no jury, neither in civil nor criminal cases. All matters of fact, as well as law, were determined by the court.

Mr. Davenport, the minister who came over with Mr. Eaton, had been a preacher of great note in Coleman-street, London, and for his non compliance in ecclesiastical matters absconded and came over privately. Many of his principal hearers accompanied him, and formed a church at New Haven. Another company came from Kent,

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strait line distant from Hudson's river. Indeed the suffering them to extend thus far was more favour and indulgence, but there had been a good correspondence always kept up between the English colonies and these intruders. They had mutual trade and commerce; and although the Dutch
at

Kent, Suffolk, and Surrey in England, among whom was Mr. William Leet, then a young man (after Mr. Eaton's death, governor) and after the colonies were united, some time governor of Connecticut. These, with Mr. Whitfield their minister, chose a place about 16 miles East of New Haven, since called Guildford. Another company removed from Hartford with Mr. Peter Prudden for their minister, and settled a little West from New-Haven and called the place Milford. Brainford on the East, and Samsford near forty miles West of New-Haven, were both settled by people who removed from Weathersfield on account of disturbances in the church there. These towns, together with a plantation upon the East end of Long-Island called Southold, are said to have been all that were concerned in the combination which was first formed. The colony chose their leader Mr. Eaton for their first governor, and continued him every year until he died, which was 14 years after the foundation. Their chief view was trade; and, to be better accommodated, they built on small house-lots near the sea, and fairer and more commodious houses than those in the other colonies. They built vessels for foreign voyages, and set up trading houses upon lands which they purchased at Delaware bay for the sake of beaver, but were unsuccessful, and their stocks sunk very
fast,

At that day, whatever they may now do, did not esteem godliness to be the greatest gain, yet their form of worship, their principles as to discipline and ceremonies were more agreeable to the New-Englanders than those of the high party in England. New-Haven was a barrier to the colony of Connecticut, and caused its increase. To which we may add, that the Massachusetts, by the removal of this company, were enabled to provide the better for the immediate accommodation of the great number of passengers which unexpectedly came over the next year :

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fast, and in five or six years they were much exhausted. Unwilling to give over, they exerted themselves, as a last effort, in building a ship for the trade to England, in which they put their whole stock of money, plate, and all the proper goods they could procure, to make a more valuable adventure. In her went passenger Mr. Grigson, one of the magistrates, in order to solicit a patent, and eight or ten more considerable persons, who, to use Mr. Cotton's expression, all went to heaven by water, the ship never being heard of after their sailing. The loss of this ship entirely broke them up as traders, and they turned to husbandry for their support. The manner of their settlement, upon small lots, was inconvenient for husbandmen, and the soil was not the best, so that they were much discouraged and several projections were made for their removal in a body. They made further purchases of large tracts of land at Delaware bay, but were obstructed and discouraged by opposition from the Dutch. They had offers from Ireland, after the wars

were

For in 1638, notwithstanding the clamour against the plantation was revived in England, and a design was on foot to revoke and annul the charter, there arrived about 20 ships and three thousand passengers. These ships were the more welcome to the colony, because they were afraid, that in consequence of the complaints against them, a stop would be put to any more passengers coming from England. In 1635, a commission had been granted to several of the nobility, and great officers of the crown for the regulation of the colonies.* The archbishop of Canterbury [Laud] kept a jealous eye over New-England. One Burdett of Piscataqua was his correspondent. A copy of a letter to the archbishop, wrote by Burdett, was found in his study, and to this effect, viz. "That he delayed going to England, that he might
" fully

were over, and were in treaty for the purchase of lands there for a small distinct province by themselves, and when Jamaica was conquered by Cromwell, proposals were made to them to remove there in a body; but as the first generation went off, and the second came on with the attachment natural to the place of their birth and education, they became more reconciled to their situation, and although they have never been remarkable for foreign commerce, the first intention of the settlement, yet their improvements in husbandry have been equal to any of their neighbours. The ancient colony of New Haven is at this day a principal part of the colony of Connecticut, on many accounts respectable, and to be placed with those of the first rank.

* Appendix.

“ fully inform himself of the state of the place as
 “ to allegiance, for it was not new discipline
 “ which was aimed at, but sovereignty ; and that
 “ it was accounted perjury and treason, in their
 “ general court, to speak of appeals to the King.”

By the first ships which came this year, a letter was brought from the archbishop to Burdett, rendering him thanks for the care of his Majesty's service, and assuring him, that he would take a time for the redress of the disorders which he informed them of ; but, by reason of much business which lay upon them, they could not at that time accomplish his desire. This letter to Burdett was, by some means or other not mentioned, shewn to the governor of the Massachusetts. A *quo warranto* had been brought by one Sir John Banks, attorney-general, a year or two before, against the governor, deputy-governor and assistants of the corporation of the Massachusetts. This was never served upon any persons in New-England. Some, which were or had been of the corporation, and who remained in England, appeared and disclaimed the charter : and there was a determination, that the liberties and franchises of the corporation should be seized into the King's hands ; but, it is said, judgment was never entered in form against the corporation. * It is agreed

that

* Mr. Hubbard says, judgment was g'ven, &c. but the government themselves, in some of their declarations in King Charles the second's time, say, that the process was never completed. Judgment was entered against sa

many

that there was an order of the King in council May 3d 1637, that the attorney-general be required to call for the patent of the Massachusetts, and this year (1638) Mr. Winthrop received a letter from Mr. Meautis, clerk of the council, accompanied with an order from the Lords of the council of April 4th 1638, requiring the governor, or any other person who should have the letters patent in their power or custody, without fail to transmit the same by the return of the ship which carried the order, and in case of contempt their Lordships would move his Majesty to re-assume into his hands the whole plantation. An answer was drawn up and transmitted, as appears by the files of the court;* in which, after professing their loyalty, they say, that they were never called to answer to the *quo warranto*; if they had been they should have had a good plea against it, that they came over with their families and estates, with his Majesty's licence and encouragement, had greatly enlarged his dominions, and if their charter should be taken away they should be forced to remove to some other place or return to their native country; that the other plantations would be broke up, and the whole country fall into the hands of the French or Dutch, and that all men would be discouraged from such undertakings

many as appeared, and they which did not appear were outlawed.

* The records of the session take no notice of it. Appendix.

takings in confidence of a royal grant; that the common people, if cast off by his Majesty, might confederate under some new form of government, which would be of evil example and might expose the court to his Majesty's displeasure * ; and for these seasons, they pray their Lordships that they may be suffered to live in this wilderness; that their liberties may not be restrained, when others are enlarged; and that men of abilities may not be hindered from coming to them, when they are encouraged to go to other plantations. It was never known what reception this answer met with. It is certain, that no further demand was made. In a short time, the archbishop, and several other of the Lords of the council who were present at this order, lost their authority and influence. They were as much perplexed, when called to account for their own conduct, as the colony could have been for theirs, had it been more exceptionable than it was. We may make some conjectures what would have been the consequence of taking away the charter at this time. It is pretty certain, the body of the people would have left the country. Two years after, merely from a dissatisfaction with the soil and the climate, many did remove, and many more were on tiptoe and restrained only by the consideration of their engagements to stand by and support one another; but where they would have removed, is the question.

* For being the occasion of it, by giving up the charter.

tion. It would not have been to the French. This would have been going further from the sun. They were too far northward already. Besides, they might well expect a heavier yoke under the Romish hierarchy than what they complained of under the protestant. They would not have removed to any plantation or territory claimed by the King of England. What assurance could they have of security, for the enjoyment of privileges, in any other part, stronger than they had when they came here? After they had spent their substance, and many that came with them their lives, in possessing and improving a country, in confidence that they should enjoy their charter privileges, they and their posterity for ever, they would not have trusted to promises, if any had been made them a second time. It is most likely they would have gone to the Dutch at Hudson's river. They had always kept up a friendly correspondence, with them. In their religious principles and form of worship, and church government, they were not very distant from one another. The Dutch were not generally very nice upon those points. The only difficulty would have been, to have obtained those privileges in matters of government from the Dutch, which they had from the English; and I think the Dutch would have been politic enough to have granted them. If they had failed with the Dutch, such was their resolution, that they would have sought at *vacuum domicilium*, (a favourite expression with them) in some part of the globe where they would, according

ing to their apprehensions, have been free from the controul of any European power. In their first migration, most of them could say, *omnia mea mecum porto*. All the difference, as to the second would have been, that so far as they had lessened their substance, so much less room would have been necessary for the transportation of what remained. Such a scheme would have consisted very well with their notions of civil subjection, as we shall see in many instances. I do not say their notions were just. Allegiance in an English born subject is said to be perpetual, and to accompany him wherever he goes.

THE same governor, deputy governor and assistants were chosen for 1638, as had been for 1637. The settlements were extended this year beyond Merrimack river. Salisbury and Hampton had a great quantity of salt meadows. They were an inducement to people to sit down there, although the upland was a light sandy soil and not very inviting. Rowley and Sudbury were both settled this year also.

THE inhabitants of Lynn being desirous of larger accommodations, many of them removed to Long Island, near the west end; Lord Stirling, by his agent there, having sold or quit claimed to them a tract for a plantation; but they were soon disturbed by the Dutch, and some of them were imprisoned under a pretence of an affront offered to the prince of Orange's arms, which they
had

had taken down from a tree where the dutch had hung them up. Not being able to keep their ground, they removed to the east end, and settled a church and town (Southampton) and entered into a civil combination, intending to be independant of any of the colonies. Another distinct government was formed at the mouth of Connecticut river, by the agent of Lord Say and Seal and Lord Brooke, who, with other persons of distinction, were still expected in New-England, and other companies who were intending to remove, intended likewise to form into separate governments. But this humour did not last long. In a few years, all the colonies found an union or confederacy necessary for their defence, not only against the Indians, but against the French and Dutch; and there could be no encouragement for small bodies of men to sit down any where, independant or unconnected. All that had begun any settlements between the Massachusets and the Dutch (the Rhode-Islanders excepted, who were covered, except on the sea, by the other colonies) joined with Connecticut or New-Haven, and all to the eastward, whether in New-Hamshire, province of Main or the country further east, applied to the Massachusets that they might incorporate with them.

THE year 1633 was memorable for a very great earthquake throughout New-England. The shake, by the printed accounts of it, and from manuscript letters, appears to have been equal to that

In 1727, the pewter in many places being thrown off the shelves, and the tops of chimnies in some places shook down, but the noise, though great, not so surprizing as that of the last mentioned. The course of it was from west to east. This was a remarkable æra. So long after the earthquake was as common an expression with the people of New-England, for many years, as it seems to have been heretofore with the children of Israel. *

HARVARD College takes its date from the year 1638. Two years before, the general court gave four hundred pounds towards a public school at Newtown, but Mr. John Harvard, a worthy minister of Charlestown, dying this year and having given a great part of his estate, between seven and eight hundred pounds to the same use, the school took the name of Harvard College by an order of court. †

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* Johnson. Hubbard.

† The first master of the college was Nathaniel Eaton, who was a good scholar, but had not the other qualities requisite for the instruction and government of youth. He was charged with avarice, in withholding necessary or convenient commons, and with cruelty, in beating his usher with a cudgel whilst two of his servants held him out by the legs and arms. His conduct having been enquired into by the court, in 1639, he was thereupon displaced, fined 100 marks and ordered to pay thirty pounds to Mr. Briscoe whom he cruelly beat. After the sentence of the court, he was excommunicated from the church

In 1639, the former governor and deputy governor were continued, and the same assistants, except Mr. Harlakenden, who died in the colony, and I suppose the last year.

STRAITS and difficulties, at the beginning of the colony, had produced industry and good husbandry, and then they soon raised provisions enough for their own support, and an overplus for exportation. We hear but little of trade for the first seven years, except a small traffick with the natives by barter of toys, and a few utensils, tools and cloathing they at first thought necessary, in exchange for furs and skins. What the planters brought with them consisted, principally, of materials for their buildings, necessary tools for their husbandry, stock for their farms, and cloathing for themselves and families; and those who had more estate than was sufficient for these purposes, were
country

church at Cambridge. He complained that the church had enquired into his case before, and fully understood it and passed no censure upon him; but when they knew the opinion of the court, they conformed to that. He went to Virginia. After the restoration he was in England, conformed and had a living, and is said to have revenged himself upon all nonconformists, being greatly instrumental in their persecutions. He was educated under Dr. Ames in Holland, and known to Mr. Hooker whilst there, who says he did not approve of his spirit, and feared the issue of his being received here, &c. He was succeeded by Mr. Henry Dunster, well esteemed for his learning, piety and spirit of government.

country gentlemen and unacquainted with commerce, as Winthrop, Dudley, Bellingham, Bradstreet, &c. and never employed themselves in it, (Mr. Winthrop built a small barque called the Blessing, which was employed to import corn from the southern Indians when the colony was in want, but she was soon cast away) and people in general turned their minds to provide comfortable lodgings, and to bring under improvement so much land as would afford them necessary support, and this was enough to employ them. After a few years, by hard labour and hard fare, the land produced more than was consumed by the inhabitants; the overplus was sent abroad to the West-Indies, the Wine-Islands, &c. Returns were made in the produce of the respective countries and in bullion, the most of which, together with the furs procured from the natives, went to England to pay for the manufactures continually necessary from thence. As hands could be spared from husbandry and labour in providing their houses, they were taken off, and some employed in sawing boards, splitting staves, shingles and hoops, others in the fishery, and as many as were capable of it in building small vessels for the fishery and for coasting and foreign trade. Thus gradually and insensibly they seem to have fallen in, to that trade most natural to the country and adapted to their peculiar circumstances, without any premeditated scheme or projection for that purpose. The primary views, in their removal, were
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the enjoyment of civil and religious liberty. Merchants, and others for the sake of gain when they saw a prospect of it afterwards, came over and incorporated with them, and caused a great increase of commerce, and led the legislators to measures for the further improvement of it. For encouraging the fishery, an act was made, this year, to free all estates, employed in catching making or transporting fish, from all duties and public taxes; and all persons were restrained, by penalty, from using any cod or bass fish for manuring the ground; and all fishermen during the season for business, and all ship-builders, were by the same act excused from trainings. Sumptuary laws were made for restraining excess in apparel and other expences; a spirit of industry and frugality prevailed; and those who lived in the next age speak of this as the *aurea ætas* in which religion and virtue flourished: But it was not long before many became discontented and encouraged projects for their removal.

In the year 1640, Mr. Dudley was governor and Mr. Bellingham deputy governor; Mr. Winthrop, the former governor, one of the assistants; the rest the same as the last year. The importation of settlers now ceased. The motive to transportation to America was over, by the change in the affairs of England. They, who then professed to be able to give the best account, say, that in 208 ships, which were the whole number from the beginning

beginning of the colony, there arrived * 21200 passengers, men women and children, perhaps about 4000 families. † Since which, more persons have removed out of New-England to other parts of the world than have come from other parts to it; and the number of families, at this day, in the four governments may be supposed to be less, rather than more, than the natural increase of four thousand. This sudden stop had a surprizing effect upon the price of cattle. They had lost the greatest part of what they intended for the first supply, in the passage from Europe. As the inhabitants multiplied the demand for cattle increased, and the price of a milch cow had kept from 25 to 30l. but fell at once this year to 5 or 6l. A farmer,

* Mr. Neale supposes this to be impossible, but the number is not great for so many ships. If we allow half of them for transporting goods, and 140 souls to each of the other, it will make the number. Many of the ships were large, in the first fleet especially.

† A modest computation then made of the whole charge of transportation of the persons, their goods, the stock of cattle, provisions until they could support themselves, necessities for building, artillery, arms and ammunition, amounts to 192 000l. sterl. Johnson. A dear purchase, if they had paid nothing before to the council of Plimouth and nothing afterwards to the sachems of the country. Well might they complain, when the titles to their lands were called in question by Sir Edmond Andros; their labour in clearing and improving them was of more value than the lands after they were improved, and this other expence might be out of the question.

farmer, who could spare but one cow in a year out of his stock, used to cloath his family with the price of it at the expence of the new comers; when this failed they were put to difficulties. Although they judged they had 12000 neat cattle, yet they had but about 3000 sheep in the colony.

THE year 1641 afforded not so pleasing a prospect. As soon as the country ceased to be necessary as an asylum for oppressed people in England, some of those who had been the greatest benefactors there not only discouraged any further transportation, but endeavoured to induce such as had gone over to remove. Had the same changes happened in England six or eight years sooner, the continent of North-America would in all probability have been at this day in a far less flourishing estate than it is. Some of the principal men wavered, but others were more resolute, and determined not to forsake their undertaking.*

LORD Say and Seal had turned his thoughts to a more southern settlement in the Bahama islands.
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* Mr. Richard Saltonstall about this time, and I suppose upon this occasion, made a vow to God that he would not leave the country whilst the ordinances of God continued there in purity. Some years after, his wife was in a bad state of health and it was thought she might have relief by physicians in England. He applied to Mr. Cotton, not to absolve him, but to satisfy his doubting conscience, Mr. Cotton convinced him that the marriage vow was the most binding. MS. J. Cotton.

He had engaged Mr. Humfries, one of the assistants of the Massachusetts colony, in the design, with a promise of being the governor of the new settlement. A new plan of government was framed, wholly aristocratical, and the magistracy to be hereditary; but exceptions being taken to this form by the people, it was altered and brought nearer to that of the Massachusetts. * Mr. Winthrop

* It is observable that all the colonies, before the reign of King Charles the second, Maryland excepted, settled a model of government for themselves. Virginia had been many years distracted under the government of presidents and governors, with councils in whose nomination or removal the people had no voice, until in the year 1620 a house of burgesses broke out in the colony; the King nor the grand council at home not having given any powers or directions for it. The governor and assistants of the Massachusetts at first intended to rule the people, and, as we have observed, obtained their consent for it, but this lasted two or three years only; and although there is no colour for it in the charter, yet a house of deputies appeared suddenly, in 1634, to the surprize of the magistrates and the disappointment of their schemes for power. Connecticut soon after followed the plan of the Massachusetts. New Haven, altho' the people had the highest reverence for their leaders and for near 30 years in judicial proceeding submitted to the magistracy (it must however be remembered that it was annually elected) without a jury, yet in matters of legislation the people, from the beginning, would have their share by their representatives. New Hampshire

throp (the usual governor and always considered abroad as the head of the colony) had wrote to Lord Say, representing to his Lordship that it seemed evident that God had chosen New-England to plant his people in, and that it would be displeasing unto him that this work should be hindered;

shire combined together under the same form with Massachusetts. Lord Say tempts the principal men of the Massachusetts, to make them and their heirs nobles and absolute governors of a new colony; but, under this plan they could find no people to follow them. Barbadoes and the leeward islands, began in 1625, struggled under governors and councils and contending proprietors for about 20 years. Numbers suffered death by the arbitrary sentences of courts martial, or other acts of violence, as one side or the other happened to prevail. At length, in 1645, the first assembly was called, and no reason given but this, viz. That, by the grant to the Earl of Carlisle, the inhabitants were to enjoy all the liberties, privileges and franchises of English subjects, and therefore, as it is also expressly mentioned in the grant, could not legally be bound or charged by any act without their own consent. This grant, in 1627, was made by Charles the first, a Prince not the most tender of the subject's liberties. After the restoration there is no instance of a colony settled without a representative of the people, nor any attempt to deprive the colonies of this privilege, except in the arbitrary reign of King James the second. The colonies, which are to be settled in the new acquired countries, have the fullest assurance, by his Majesty's proclamation, that the same form of government shall be established there. Perhaps the same establishment in Canada,

